

SATIRES OF  
JUVENAL



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THE  
SATIRES OF JUVENAL.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED,  
WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES,

BY THE

REV. LEWIS EVANS, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
EDWARD BROOKS, JR.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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IN the following pages will be found a translation of The Satires of Juvenal. A "Satire" is a ridiculing speech or essay, and the origin of this term is interesting and worthy of notice. The word "satire" is derived from the Latin *satura*, meaning rich, abounding, full of variety. *Satura* was a term applied to the vessel in which the various productions of the soil were offered up to the gods, and thus came to be used for any miscellaneous collection of things. The writings of the early Roman Satirists necessarily treated of many different subjects and were full of various matters. It was therefore natural to apply the term *Satiræ* to them. By this application, however, the word lost its miscellaneous signification and gradually came to be used as signifying a writing which contained criticism in the garb of ridicule.

Decimus Junius Juvenalis, the author of the following Satires, was born about 42 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. The place of his birth was Aquinum, a small town in the territory of the Volsci. Who his father was is not known, but it is supposed that he was a freedman of considerable wealth, who gave his son a

liberal education and procured for him the advantages of association with the eminent and distinguished men of the time.

The materials for a biography of Juvenal are meagre and unsatisfactory, the poet himself having been peculiarly reticent in respect to events relating to his life. About all that is known of him until he reached the age of forty is that he spent much time in perfecting himself in the art of declamation, not so much with the intention of fitting himself for the profession of an advocate, as to conform to the custom of the age and for his own amusement.

About the age of forty, Juvenal seems to have discovered his true bent. Domitian, who had succeeded his predecessor Titus, was in a fair way to revive that system of favoritism which had threatened the empire with destruction under Claudius. The object of the emperor's favor was Paris, a young pantomime dancer. Against him were hurled the first shafts of that satire which was destined to make the masters of the world tremble on their thrones and strike at the root of the most powerful vices of the age.

A few lines were composed on Paris, which were not read in public on account of the fear of informers, with which the reign swarmed, but were quietly circulated among the author's friends. These verses having met with much commendation, Juvenal was induced to add to and perhaps entirely re-write the original sketch.

This composition as revised is now known as the Seventh Satire, and was read in public before a numerous assemblage. Paris, on being informed of this, was greatly incensed and complained to the emperor, who, according to some authorities, punished Juvenal by sending him to

Egypt with a military command. Other authorities contend, that inasmuch as shortly after the publication of these verses, the favorite Paris was disgraced and put to death, it is not likely that the banishment of Juvenal ever took place.

Certain it is, however, that Juvenal was in Egypt. In 95 A.D. Domitian exiled all the philosophers from Italy with many circumstances of cruelty. Juvenal, while strictly speaking, not a philosopher, at all events thought it prudent to withdraw from Italy, and it is quite possible that his visit to Egypt is rightly attributed to this period of his life.

Two years later Domitian died, and was succeeded by Nerva, who recalled the exiled philosophers. From this time on it is almost certain that Juvenal was in Rome devoting himself to literary composition, until he died, which was about the year 125 A.D.

The most celebrated of the Roman writers of Satire were Lucilius, Horace, Persius and Juvenal, who flourished in the order named, and of these there can be little doubt that Juvenal possesses the greatest claims to distinction, though whether this is due to the superior quality of his writings, or to the time at which he wrote, is a point on which authorities differ.

Certain it is that Juvenal wrote at a time well calculated to make him effective as a Satirist. The Emperor Domitian, during whose reign the first Satire was written, seems to have inherited and combined in one human being all the vices of his predecessors. Superior to Tiberius in hypocrisy, more bloody than the cruel Caligula, and the equal of Claudius in sottishness, he well merited

the opprobrious appellation of a "lump of clay kneaded up with blood." The follies and vices of Rome were perhaps never greater than at this time, and gave abundant opportunity for the exercise of the powers of the Satirists.

A comparison of the writings of these Satirists does not, however, prove that Juvenal's title to superiority is entirely based upon the chance of his having written in the reign of Domitian.

Of Lucilius too little remains to enable us to form an accurate opinion of the merits of his writings. His style, however, seems to bear upon it the impress of strength rather than delicacy of expression, and his criticisms in many instances seem harsh and violent.

Horace was gay and lively in his censures, and was undoubtedly well fitted for the period of which he wrote. One of his chief charms is his frank communicativeness, and the way in which he seems to take his reader into his confidence. His writings, however, lack that energy and force of expression which characterize the Satires of Juvenal.

Persius was not originally a writer of Satire, and it is possible that he mistook his talents when he applied himself to this kind of writing. As a moral and philosophical poet, he is entitled to great distinction. In his Satires, however, there is a noticeable lack of that knowledge of human nature with which the writings of both Horace and Juvenal are so replete.

Juvenal's Satires are characterized by energy of expression, great passion and indignation. His great aim was to strike terror to the hearts of the vicious, and to uproot



vice from the hold which it had obtained in the empire. That greater success did not attend his efforts is due to the fact that the times demanded the severity of the executioner rather than the censor. One of the greatest charms of Juvenal, and possibly that which has been largely instrumental in obtaining for him the title of the greatest of the Roman Satirists, is that in depicting character and in terms of expression he is essentially modern.

To the charge of indecency, which is sometimes brought against him, it may be said that there are other Latin authors who are equally guilty in this respect, and that Juvenal wrote with the purpose of denouncing vices and indecencies of conduct such as had probably never been known or thought of by other writers.

# JUVENAL'S SATIRES.

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## SATIRE I.

### ARGUMENT.

THIS Satire seems, from several incidental circumstances, to have been produced subsequently to most of them ; and was probably drawn up after the author had determined to collect and publish his works, as a kind of Introduction.

He abruptly breaks silence with an impassioned complaint of the importunity of bad writers, and a resolution of retaliating upon them : and after ridiculing their frivolous taste in the choice of their subjects, declares his own intention to devote himself to Satire. After exposing the corruption of men, the profligacy of women, the luxury of courtiers, the baseness of informers and fortune-hunters, the treachery of guardians, and the peculation of officers of state, he censures the general passion for gambling, the servile rapacity of the patricians, the avarice and gluttony of the rich, and the miserable poverty and subjection of their dependents ; and after some bitter reflections on the danger of satirizing living villainy, concludes with a resolution to attack it under the mask of departed names.

MUST I always be a hearer only ? Shall I never retaliate,<sup>1</sup> though plagued so often with the Theseid of Codrus,<sup>2</sup> hoarse with reciting it ? Shall one man, then, recite<sup>3</sup> to me his Comedies, and another his Elegies, with impunity ? Shall huge

<sup>1</sup> *Reponam*, " repay in kind." A metaphor taken from the payment of debts.

<sup>2</sup> *Codrus* ; a poor poet in every sense, if, as some think, he is the same as the Codrus mentioned iii., 203.

<sup>3</sup> *Recitaverit*. For the custom of Roman writers to recite their compositions in public, cf. Sat. vii., 40, 83 ; iii., 9. Plin., 1, Ep. xiii., " queritur se diem perdidisse." *Togata* is a comedy on a Roman subject ; *Prætexta*, a tragedy on the same ; *Elegi*, trifling love-songs.

"Telephus" waste a whole day for me, or "Orestes," with the margin of the manuscript full to the very edge, and written on the back too,<sup>1</sup> and yet not finished, *and I not retort?*

No one knows his own house better than I do the grove of Mars, and Vulcan's cave close to the Æolian rocks. The agency of the winds,<sup>2</sup> what ghosts Æacus is torturing, whence another bears off the gold<sup>3</sup> of the stolen fleece, what huge mountain-ashes Monychus hurls, *all this* the plane-groves of Fronto,<sup>4</sup> and the statues shaken and the columns split by the eternal reciter, are for ever re-echoing. You may look for the same themes from the greatest poet and the least.

And yet I too have shirked my hand away from the rod.<sup>5</sup> I too have given advice to Sylla, that he should enjoy a sound sleep by returning to a private station.<sup>6</sup> When at every turn you meet so many poetasters, it were a foolish clemency to spare paper that is sure to be wasted. Yet why I rather choose to trace my course over that plain through which the great foster-son of Aurunca<sup>7</sup> urged his steeds, I will, if you are at leisure, and with favorable ear listen to reason, tell you. When a soft eunuch<sup>8</sup> marries a wife; when Mævia<sup>9</sup> transfixes the Tuscan boar, and, with breasts exposed, grasps the hunting-spears; when one man singly

<sup>1</sup> *In tergo*. The ancients usually wrote only on one side of the parchment: when otherwise, the works were called "Opisthographi," and said to be written "aversa charta."

<sup>2</sup> *Venti*; cf. xii., 23, where he uses "*Poëtica tempestas*" as a proverbial expression.

<sup>3</sup> *Aurum*; probably a hit at Valerius Flaccus, his contemporary.

<sup>4</sup> *Julius Fronto* was a munificent patron of literature, thrice consul, and once colleague of Trajan, A.D. 97. <sup>5</sup> Cassiod.

<sup>6</sup> "Jam a grammaticis eruditi recessimus." Brit.; and so Dryden.

<sup>7</sup> "That to sleep soundly, he must cease to rule." Badham.

<sup>8</sup> Lucilius was born at *Aurunca*, anciently called *Suessa*.

<sup>9</sup> *Spado*, for the reason, vid. Sat. vi., 365,

<sup>10</sup> *Mævia*. The passion of the Roman women for fighting with wild beasts in the amphitheatre was encouraged by Domitian, but afterward restrained by an edict of Severus.

vies in wealth with the whole body of patricians, under whose razor my beard, grown exuberant, sounded while I was in my prime;<sup>1</sup> when Crispinus, one of the dregs of the mob of the Nile, a born-slave of Canopus, (while his shoulder hitches up his Tyrian cloak,)<sup>2</sup> airs his summer ring from his sweating fingers, and can not support the weight of his heavier gem;—it is difficult not to write satire. For who can be so tolerant of this iniquitous city, who so case-hardened,<sup>3</sup> as to contain himself! When there comes up the bran-new litter of Matho<sup>4</sup> the lawyer, filled with himself; and after him, he that informed upon his powerful friend, and will soon plunder the nobility, already close-shorn, of the little that remains to them; one whom even Massa fears, whom Carus soothes with a bribe; or a Thymele suborned by some trembling Latinus.<sup>5</sup> When fellows supplant you, who earn their legacies by night-work, lifted up to heaven<sup>6</sup> by what is now the surest road to the highest advancement, the lust of some ancient harridan. Proculeius gets one poor twelfth; but Gillo has eleven twelfths. Each gets the share proportioned to his powers. Well! let him take the purchase-money of his blood, and be as pale as one that has

<sup>1</sup> "Who reap'd my manly chin's resounding field." Hodgson. Either Licinus, the freedman of Augustus, is referred to (Hor., A. P., 301), or more probably Cinnamus. Cf. Sat. x., 225. Mart., vii., Ep. 64.

<sup>2</sup> This is the most probable meaning, and adopted by Madan and Browne; but there are various other interpretations: *e.g.*, "Cumbered with his purple vest." Badham. "With cloak of Tyrian dye, Changed oft a day for needless luxury." Dryden. "While he gathers now, now flings his purple open." Gifford. "O'er his back displays." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Ferreus*, "so steel'd."

<sup>4</sup> "Fat Matho plunged in cushions at his ease." Badham.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mart., i., v., 5, "Quâ Thymelen spectas derisoremque Latinum."

<sup>6</sup> *Cœlum*. There is probably a covert allusion here to Adrian, who gained the empire through the partiality of Plotina, in spite of the will of her dying husband Trajan.



trodden on a snake with naked heel, or a rhetorician about to declaim at the altar at Lyons.<sup>1</sup>

Why need I tell with what indignation my parched liver boils, when here, the plunderer of his ward (reduced by him to the vilest gains) presses on the people with his crowds of menials, and there, he that was condemned by a powerless sentence. (For what cares he for infamy while he retains the plunder?) Marius,<sup>2</sup> though an exile, drinks from the eighth hour, and laughs at the angry gods, while thou, O Province, victorious in the suit, art in tears! Shall I not deem these themes worthy of the lamp of Venusium?<sup>3</sup> Shall I not lash these? Why rather sing tales of Hercules or Diomedes, or the bellowing of the Labyrinth, and the sea struck by the boy Icarus, and the winged artificer?<sup>4</sup> When the pander inherits the wealth of the adulterer (since the wife has lost the right of receiving it),<sup>5</sup> taught to gaze at the ceiling, and snore over his cups with well-feigned sleep. When he considers himself privileged to expect the command of a cohort, who has squandered his money on his

<sup>1</sup> *Lugdunensem*. There was a temple erected in honor of Augustus at Lyons, A.U.C. 744, and from the very first games were celebrated there, but the contest here alluded to was instituted by Caligula. Cf. Suet., Calig., xx. It was a "certamen Græcæ Latinæque facundiæ," in which the vanquished were compelled to give prizes to the victors, and to write their praises. While those who "maximè displicuissent" had to obliterate their own compositions with a sponge or their tongues, unless they preferred being beaten with ferules, or ducked in the nearest river. Caligula was at Lyons, A.D. 40, on his way to the ocean.

<sup>2</sup> *Marius Priscus*, proconsul of Africa, was condemned for extortion, A.D. 100. Vid. Clinton in a. Pliny the Younger was his accuser, 2 Ep., xi. (Cf. Sat. viii., 120, "Cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros.") Though condemned, he saved his money; and was, as Gifford renders it, "by a juggling sentence damn'd in vain." The ninth hour (three o'clock) was the earliest hour at which the temperate dined. Cf. Mart., iv., Ep. 8, "Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros." Cf. Hor., i., Od. i., 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Venusium*, or Venusia, the birth-place of Horace.

<sup>4</sup> "Vitreo daturus nomina Ponto." Hor., iv., Od. ii., 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Jus nullum uxori*. Cf. Suet., Dom., viii. "Probrosis fœminis ademit jus capiendi legata hæreditatesque."

stables, and has run through all his ancestors' estate, while he flies with rapid wheel along the Flaminian road;<sup>1</sup> for while yet a youth, like Automedon, he held the reins, while the great man showed himself off to his "mistress-in-his cloak."<sup>2</sup> Do you not long to fill your capacious tablets, even in the middle of the cross-ways, when there comes borne on the shoulders of six slaves, exposed to view on either side, with palanquin almost uncurtained, and aping the luxurious Mæcnas, the forger, who made himself a man of splendor and wealth by a few short lines, and a moistened seal?<sup>3</sup> Next comes the powerful matron, who when her husband thirsts, mingles the toad's-poison in the mellow wine of Cales which she is herself about to hand him, and with skill superior even to Locusta,<sup>4</sup> initiates her neighbors, too simple before, in the art of burying their husbands, livid from the poison, in despite of infamy and the public gaze.<sup>5</sup>

Dare some deed to merit scanty Gyarus<sup>6</sup> and the jail, if you wish to be somebody. Honesty is commended, and starves. It is to their crimes they are indebted for their gardens, their palaces, their tables, their fine old plate, and

<sup>1</sup> The Flaminian road ran the whole length of the Campus Martius, and was therefore the most conspicuous thoroughfare in Rome. It is now the Corso.

<sup>2</sup> *Lacernatæ*. The Lacerna was a male garment; the allusion is probably to Nero and his "eunuch-love" Sporus. Vid. Suet., Nero, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Signator-falso," sc. testamento. Cf. Sat. xii., 125, and Bekker's Charicles. "Fram'd a short will and gave himself the whole." Hodgson.

"A few short lines authentic made,

By a forged seal the inheritance convey'd." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Locusta*. Vid. Tac., Ann., xii., 66, 67. She was employed by Agrippina to poison Claudius, and by Nero to destroy Germanicus. On the accession of Galba she was executed. Cf. Suet., Nero, 33.

<sup>5</sup> "Reckless of whispering mobs that hover near." Badham.

"Nor heed the curse of the indignant throng." Gifford.

<sup>6</sup> *Gyarus*, a barren island in the Ægean. Vid. Tac., Ann., iii., 68, 69, "Insulam Gyarum immitem et sine cultu hominum esse." Cf. Sat. x., 170; vi., 563.

the goat standing in high relief from the cup. Whom does the seducer of his own daughter-in-law, greedy for gold, suffer to sleep? Or the unnatural brides, or the adulterer not out of his teens?<sup>1</sup> If nature denies the power, indignation would give birth to verses, such as it could produce, like mine and Cluvienus'.

From the time that Deucalion ascended the mountain in his boat, while the storm upheaved the sea,<sup>2</sup> and consulted the oracle, and the softening stones by degrees grew warm with life, and Pyrrha displayed to the males the virgins unrobed; all that men are engaged in, their wishes, fears, anger, pleasures, joys, and varied pursuits, form the hotch-potch of my book.

And when was the crop of vices more abundant? When were the sails of avarice more widely spread? When had gambling its present spirits? For now men go to the hazard of the gaming-table not simply with their purses, but play with their whole chest<sup>3</sup> staked. What fierce battles will you see there, while the steward supplies the weapons for the contest! Is it then mere common madness to lose a hundred sestertia, and not leave enough for a tunic for your shivering slave!<sup>4</sup> Which of our grandsires erected so many villas? Which of them ever dined by himself<sup>5</sup> on seven courses? In our days the diminished sportula is set outside the threshold, ready to be seized upon by the toga-clad crowd.<sup>6</sup> Yet he

<sup>1</sup> "The raw noble in his boyish gown." Hodgson. "Stripling debauchee." Gifford. The sons of the nobility wore the toga prætexta till the age of seventeen.

<sup>2</sup> "While whelming torrents swell'd the floods below." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Arca*. Cf. Sat. x., 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Reddere*. Probably "to pay what has been long due."

<sup>5</sup> *Secreto*, "without their clients," opposed to the "in propatulo" of Val. Max., ii., 5. ἡρπῆς ἐς κἀρακας μονόφαγε. Alex.

<sup>6</sup> In former days the Romans entertained their clients, after the day's officium was over, at supper, which was called "cœna recta." In later times, the clients, instead of this, received their portion of the supper, which they carried away in a small basket, "sportula,"

(that dispenses it), before giving, scans your features, and dreads lest you should come with counterfeit pretense and under a false name. When recognized you will receive your dole. He bids the crier summon the very Trojugenæ themselves. For even they assail the door with us. "Give the prætor his! Then to the tribune." But the freedmen must first be served! "I was before him!" he says. "Why should I fear or hesitate to stand up for my turn, though I was born on the banks of Euphrates, which the soft windows<sup>1</sup> in my ears would attest, though I myself were to deny the fact. But my five shops bring me in four hundred sestertia. What does the Laticlave<sup>2</sup> bestow that's worth a wish, since Corvinus keeps sheep for hire in the Laurentine fields? I own more than Pallas<sup>3</sup> and the Licini. Let the tribunes wait then!" Let Riches carry the day, and let not him give place even to the sacrosanct magistrate, who came but the other day to this city with chalked feet.<sup>4</sup> Since with us the most revered majesty is that of riches; even though as yet, pernicious money, thou dwellest in no temple, nor have we as yet reared altars to coin, as we worship Peace and Faith, Victory and Virtue, and Concord, whose temple resounds with the noise of storks returning to their nests.<sup>5</sup>

or a kind of portable kitchen. Cf. iii., 249. This was again changed, and an equivalent in money (centum quadrantes, about twenty pence English) given instead. Domitian restored the "cœna recta." Cf. Suet., Dom., vii.; Nero, xvi.

<sup>1</sup> *Fenestræ*. Cf. Xen., Anab., III., i., 31. Exob., xxi., 6.

<sup>2</sup> "Shall I then yield, though born perchance a slave, To the proud beggar in his laticlave?" Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Pallas*, the freedman of Claudius, was enormously rich. The wealth and splendor of Licinus is again alluded to, Sat. xiv., 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Pedibus albis*. The feet of imported slaves were marked with chalk. Cf. Sat. vii., 16. Plin., H. N., xxxv., 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Salutato crepitat*. It refers either to the chattering of the young birds, when the old birds who have been in quest of food return to their nests (the whole temple being deserted by men, serves, as the Schol. says, for a *nidus* to birds); or, to the noise made by the old birds striking their beaks to announce their return. Cf. Ov., Met., vi., 97.



But when a magistrate of the highest rank reckons up at the end of the year, what the sportula brings him in, how much it adds to his revenue, what shall the poor retainers do, who look to this for their toga, for their shoes, their bread and fire at home? A closely-wedged crowd of litters is clamorous for the hundred quadrantes, and his wife, though sick or pregnant, accompanies and goes the rounds with her husband. One practicing a crafty trick now worn thread-bare, asks for his wife though really absent, displaying in her stead an empty and closed palanquin: "My Galla is inside," he says, "dispatch us with all speed. Why hesitate?" "Put out your head, Galla!" "O don't disturb her! she's asleep!"

The day is portioned out with a fine routine of engagements. First the sportula; then the Forum,<sup>1</sup> and Apollo<sup>2</sup> learned in the law; and the triumphal statues, among which some unknown Egyptian or Arabarch has dared set up his titles, whose image, as though sacred, one dare not venture to defile.<sup>3</sup> At length, the old and wearied-out clients quit the vestibule and give up all their hopes;<sup>4</sup> although their expectation of a dinner has been full-long protracted: the poor wretches must buy their cabbage and fire. Meanwhile their patron-lord will devour the best that the forest and ocean can supply, and will recline in solitary state with none

<sup>1</sup> *Ordine rerum*. Cf. Mart. iv., Ep. 8. The *Forum* is the old Forum Romanum.

<sup>2</sup> *Apollo*, i.e., the Forum Augusti on the Palatine Hill. In the court where pleas were held stood an ivory statue of Apollo. Cf. Hor., i., Sat. ix., 78.

<sup>3</sup> "And none must venture to pollute the place." Hodgson. *Tantum*, i.e., *tantummodo*. Cf. Pers., i. Sat., 114, *Sacer est locus, ite profani, Extra meiete!*

<sup>4</sup> To all these places the client attends his patron; then, on his return, the rich man's door is closed, and he is at liberty to return home without any invitation to remain to dinner.

"The day's attendance closed, and evening come,  
The uninvited client hies him home." Badham.

but himself on his couches. For out of so many fair, and broad, and such ancient dishes, they gorge whole patrimonies at a single course. In our days there will not be even a parasite! Yet who could tolerate such sordid luxury! How gross must that appetite be, which sets before itself whole boars, an animal created to feast a whole company! Yet thy punishment is hard at hand, when distended with food thou layest aside thy garments, and bearest to the bath the peacock undigested! Hence sudden death, and old age without a will. The news<sup>1</sup> travels to all the dinner-tables, but calls forth no grief, and thy funeral procession advances, exulted over by disgusted friends!<sup>2</sup> There is nothing farther that future times can add to our immorality. Our posterity must have the same desires, perpetrate the same acts. Every vice has reached its climax. Then set sail! spread all your canvas! Yet here perchance you may object, whence can talent be elicited able to cope with the subject? Whence that blunt freedom of our ancestors, whose very name I dare not utter, of writing whatever was dictated by their kindling soul. What matter, whether Mucius forgive the libel, or not? But take Tigellinus for your theme, and you will shine in that tunic, in which they blaze standing,<sup>3</sup> who smoke with throat transfixed, and you will draw a broad furrow in the middle of the sand. "Must he then, who has given<sup>4</sup> aconite to his three uncles, be borne on down cushions, suspended aloft, and from thence look down on us?" Yes! when he meets you press your finger to your lip!

<sup>1</sup> *Nova*. "By witty spleen increased." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> "Friends, unenrich'd, shall revel o'er your bier,  
Tell the sad news, nor grace with a tear." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Tæda*. Cf. viii., 235, "*Ausi quod libeat tunica punire molestâ.*" Tac., Ann., xv., 44, "*Aut crucibus adfixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.*" Sen., de Ira, iii., 3, "*Circumdati defixis corporibus ignes.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Qui dedit*. i.e., Tigellinus.

There will be some informer standing by to whisper in his ear, That's he ! Without fear for the consequences you may match<sup>1</sup> Æneas and the fierce Rutulian. The death of Achilles breeds ill-will in no one ; or the tale of the long-sought Hylas, who followed his pitcher. But whensoever Lucilius, fired with rage, has brandished as it were his drawn sword, his hearer, whose conscience chills with the remembrance of crime, grows red. His heart sweats with the pressure of guilt concealed. Then bursts forth rage and tears ! Ponder well, therefore, these things in your mind, before you sound the signal blast. The soldier when helmeted repents too late of the fight. I will try then what I may be allowed to vent on those whose ashes are covered by the Flaminian<sup>2</sup> or Latin road.

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## SATIRE II.

### ARGUMENT.

This Satire contains an animated attack upon the hypocrisy of the philosophers and reformers of the day, whose ignorance, profligacy, and impiety it exposes with just severity.

Domitian is here the object ; his vices are alluded to under every different name ; and it gives us a high opinion of the intrepid spirit of the man who could venture to circulate, even in private, so faithful a representation of that blood-thirsty tyrant.

I LONG to escape from hence beyond the Sarmatians, and the frozen sea, whenever those fellows who pretend to be

<sup>1</sup> *Committas*, a metaphor from pairing or matching gladiators in the arena.

"Achilles may in epic verse be slain,  
And none of all his myrmidons complain ;  
Hylas may drop his pitcher, none will cry,  
Not if he drown himself for company." Dryden.

<sup>2</sup> *Flaminia*. The laws of the xii. tables forbade all burials within the city. The road-sides, therefore, were lined with tombs. Hence

Curii and live like Bacchanals presume to read a lecture on morality. First of all, they are utterly unlearned, though you may find all their quarters full of busts of Chrysippus. For the most finished scholar among them is he that has bought an image of Aristotle or Pittacus, or bids his shelves retain originals of Cleanthes. There is no trusting to the outside! For what street is there that does not overflow with debauchees of demure exterior? Dost thou reprove abomination, that art thyself the most notorious sink among cata-mites who pretend to follow Socrates? Thy rough limbs indeed, and the stiff bristles on thy arms, seem to promise a vigorous mind within; but on thy smooth behind, the surgeon with a smile lances the swelling piles. These fellows affect a paucity of words, and a wonderful taciturnity, and the fashion of cutting their hair shorter than their eyebrows. There is therefore more frankness and sincerity in Peribomius; the man that by his very look and gait makes no secret of his depravity, I look upon as the victim of destiny. The plain-dealing of the latter class excites our pity; their very madness pleads for our forgiveness. Far worse are they who in Hercules' vein practice similar atrocities, and preaching up virtue, perpetrate the foulest vice. "Shall I feel any dread for thee, Sextus, unnatural thyself?" says the infamous Varillus. "How am I worse than thou? Let the straight-limbed, if you please, mock the bandy-legged; the fair European sneer at the Ethiop. But who could tolerate the Gracchi if they railed at sedition? Who would not confound heaven with earth, and sea with sky,<sup>1</sup> if a thief were

the common beginning of epitaphs, "*Siste gradum viator.*" The peculiar propriety of the selection of these two roads is the fact that Domitian was buried by the Flaminian, and Paris, the mime, Juvenal's personal enemy, by the Latin road.

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the comic exclamation, "*O Cœlum, O Terra, O Maria Neptuni.*" Vid. Ter., *Adelph.*, v., l., 4. Cf. Sat. vi., 283.



odious to Verres, or a murderer to Milo? If Clodius were to impeach adulterers, or Catiline Cethegus? If Sylla's three pupils were to declaim against Sylla's proscriptions? Such was the case of the adulterer recently<sup>1</sup> defiled by incest, such as might be found in Greek tragedy, who then set himself to revive those bitter laws which all might tremble at, ay, even Venus and Mars, at the same time that Julia was relieving her fruitful womb by so many abortives,<sup>2</sup> and gave birth to shapeless masses, the image of her uncle! Might not then, with all reason and justice, even the very worst of vices look with contempt on these counterfeit Scauri, and if censured turn and bite again?

Lauronia could not endure some fierce reformer of this class so often exclaiming, "Where is now the Julian law? is it slumbering?" and thus silenced him with a sneer: "Blest days indeed! that set thee up as a censor of morals! Rome now must needs retrieve her honor! A third Cato has dropped from the clouds. But tell me, pray, where do you buy these perfumes that exhale from your neck, all hairy though it be! Do not be ashamed to tell the shopman's name. But if old laws and statutes are to be raked up,<sup>3</sup> before all others the Scatinian ought to be revived. First scrutinize and look into the conduct of the men. They commit the greater atrocities; but it is their number protects them, and their phalanxes close serried with their shields. There is a wonderful unanimity among these effeminate. You will not find one single instance of such execrable conduct in our

<sup>1</sup> *Nuper*. The allusion is to Domitian and his niece Julia, who died from the use of abortives (cf. Plin., iv., Epist. xi.: "Vidua abortu periit"), cir. A.D. 91. This, therefore, fixes the date of the Satire, which was probably one of Juvenal's earliest, and written when he was about thirty. Cf. Sat. xiii., 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vi., 368.

<sup>3</sup> *Vexantur*. E somno excitantur, alluding to "Lex Julia Dormis?" Cf. i., 126.

sex.<sup>1</sup> Tædia does not caress Cluvia, nor Flora Catulla. Hispo acts both sex's parts, and is pale with two-handed lust. Do we ever plead causes? Do we study civil law? or disturb your courts with any clamor of our tongues? A few of us perhaps may wrestle, or diet themselves on the trainer's food; but only a few. You men, you spin wool, and carry home in women's baskets your finished tasks. You men twist the spindle big with its fine-drawn thread more deftly than Penelope, more nimbly than Arachne; work, such as the dirty drab does that sits crouching on her log. Every one knows why Hister at his death made his freedman his sole heir, while, when alive, he gave his maiden wife<sup>2</sup> so many presents. She will be rich without a doubt, who will submit to lie third in the wide bed. Get married then, and hold your tongue, and earrings<sup>3</sup> will be the guerdon of your silence! And after all this, forsooth, a heavy sentence is to be passed on us women! Censure acquits the raven, but falls foul of the dove!"

From this rebuke so true and undeniable, the counterfeit Stoics recoiled in confusion. For what grain of untruth was there in Lauronia's words? Yet, what will not others do, when thou, Creticus, adoptest muslin robes, and to the amazement of the people, inveighest in such a dress against Procula or Pollinea?

Fabulla, thou sayest, is an adulteress. Then let her be condemned, if you will have it so, and Carfinia also. Yet though condemned, she would not put on such a dress as that. "But it is July, it is raging hot, I am on fire!"

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this ironical defense contains the bitterest satire upon the women of Rome, as all these crimes he proves in the 6th Satire to be of every-day occurrence.

<sup>2</sup> *Puellæ*. Cf. Sat. ix., 70, *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cylindros*, called, vi., 459, "Elenchos." Cf. Arist., Fr., 309, ἐλικ-  
τήρες.

Then plead stark naked!<sup>1</sup> To be thought mad would be a less disgrace! Is that a dress to propound laws and statutes in, in the ears of the people when flushed with victory, with their wounds yet green, or that noble race, fresh from their plows? What an outcry would you make, if you saw such a dress on the person of a *Judex*! I ask, would such a robe be suitable even in a witness? *Creticus*! the implacable, the indomitable, the champion of liberty, is transparent! Contagion has caused this plague-spot, and will extend it to many more, just as a whole flock perishes in the fields from the scab of one sheep, or pigs from mange, and the grape contracts the taint from the grape it comes in contact with. Ere long you will venture on something more disgraceful even than this dress. No one ever reached the climax of vice at one step. You will by degrees enter the band of those who wear at home long fillets round their brows, and cover their necks with jewels, and propitiate *Bona Dea* with the belly of a young sow and a huge bowl of wine; but by an inverson of the old custom *women*, kept far aloof, dare not cross the threshold. The altar of the goddess is accessible to males alone. "Withdraw, profane females!" is the cry. No minstrel here may make her cornet sound! Such were the orgies by the secret torch-light which the *Baptæ* celebrated, who used to weary out even the Athenian *Cotytto*.<sup>2</sup> One with the needle held oblique adds length to his eyebrows touched with moistened soot, and raising the lids paints his quivering eyes. Another drains a *Priapus*-shaped glass, and confines his long thick hair with a caul of gold thread, clothed in sky-blue checks, or close-piled yellow stuffs; while his attendant also swears by *Juno*, the patron

<sup>1</sup> *Nudus*, i.e., in the Roman sense, without the toga.

<sup>2</sup> *Cotytto* herself, the goddess of licentiousness, was wearied with their impurities.

deity of his master. Another holds a mirror, the weapon wielded by the pathic Otho, "the spoil of Auruncan Actor,"<sup>1</sup> in which he surveyed himself when fully armed, before he gave the signal to engage—a thing worthy to be recorded in the latest annals and history of the day. A mirror! fit baggage for a civil war! O yes, forsooth! to kill old Galba shows the consummate general, to pamper one's complexion is the consistent occupation of the first citizen of Rome; to aspire to the empire as the prize on Bebriacum's<sup>2</sup> plains, and then spread over his face a poultice applied with his fingers! Such an act as neither the quivered Semiramis perpetrated in the Assyrian realms, or Cleopatra flying dejected in her Actian galley. Among this crew there is neither decency of language, nor respect for the proprieties of the table. Here is the foul license that Cybele enjoins, the lisping speech, the aged priest with hoary hair, like one possessed, a prodigy of boundless appetite, open to hire. Yet why do they delay? since long ago they ought after the Phrygian custom to have removed with their knives the superfluous flesh.

Gracchus<sup>3</sup> gave four hundred sestertia as his dowry, with himself, to a bugler, or else one that blew the straight trumpet. The marriage deeds were duly signed, the blessing invoked, a great dinner provided, the he-bride lay in the bridegroom's arms. O nobles! is it a censor we need, or an aruspex? You would without doubt be horrified, and deem it a prodigy of portentous import, if a woman gave birth to a calf, or a cow to a lamb. The same Gracchus puts on

<sup>1</sup> *Actoris*. *Æn.*, xii., 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Bebriacum*, between Verona and Cremona, where the deciding battle was fought between Otho and Vitellius.

<sup>3</sup> *Gracchus*. In the same manner Nero was married to one Pythagoras, "in modum solennium conjugiorum denupsisset." Tac., *Ann.*, xv., 37. He repeated the same act with Sporus.

flounces, the long robe and flame-colored<sup>1</sup> veil, who, when bearing the sacred shields swinging with mysterious thong, sweated beneath the Ancilia! Oh! father of our city! whence came such heinous guilt to the shepherds of Latium? Whence, O Gradivus, came this unnatural lust that has tainted thy race? See! a man illustrious in birth and rank is made over to a man! Dost thou neither shake thy helmet, nor smite the earth with thy lance? Dost thou not even appeal to thy father Jove? Begone then! and quit the acres of the Campus once so severe, which thou ceasest to care for! "I have some duty-work to perform to-morrow at break of day in the Quirinal valley." "What is the occasion?" "Why ask? my friend is going to be married; only a few are invited!" If we only live to see it, these things will be done in the broad light of day, and claim to be registered in the public acts. Meanwhile, there is one grievous source of pain that clings to these male-brides, that they are incapable of bearing, and retaining their lords' affections by bringing them children. No! better is it that nature in this case gives their minds no power over their bodies! They must die barren! Vain, in their case, is fat Lyde with her medicated box; vain the holding out their hands to the nimble Luperci.

Yet even this prodigy of crime is surpassed by the trident of Gracchus in his gladiator's tunic,<sup>2</sup> when in full flight he traverses the middle of the arena. Gracchus! more nobly born than the Manlii, and Marcelli, and Catulus' and Paulus' race, and the Fabii, and all the spectators in the front row.

<sup>1</sup> *Flammea*. Vid. Tac., u. s. "Inditum imperatori flammeum visi, auspices, dos, et genialis torus et facies nuptiales: cuncta denique spectata, quæ etiam in feminâ nox operit."

<sup>2</sup> *Tunicati*. Vid. Sat. vi., 256; viii., 203. Movet ecce tridentem. Credamus tunicæ, etc.

Ay, even though you add to these the very man himself, at whose expense he cast his net as Retiarius.

That there are departed spirits, and realms beneath the earth—that Charon's pole exists, and the foul frogs in the Stygian whirlpool—and that so many thousand souls cross its waters in a single bark, not even boys believe, save those as yet too young to be charged for their bath.<sup>1</sup> But do thou believe them true! What does Curius feel, and the two Scipios, what Fabricius and the shades of Camillus, what the legion cut off at Cremera, and the flower of Roman youth slaughtered at Cannæ—so many martial spirits—what do they feel when such a shade as this passes from us to them? They would long to be cleansed from the pollution of the contact, could any sulphur and pine-torches be supplied to them, or could there be a bay-tree to sprinkle them with water.

To such a pitch of degradation are we come!<sup>2</sup> We have, indeed, advanced our arms beyond Juverna's shore, and the Orcades<sup>3</sup> recently subdued, and the Britons content with night contracted to its briefest span. But those abominations which are committed in the victorious people's city are unknown to those barbarians whom we have conquered. "Yet there is a story told of one, an Armenian Zalates, who, more effeminate than the rest of his young countrymen, is reported to have yielded to the tribune's lust." See the result of intercourse with Rome! He came a hostage! Here they learn to be *men*! For if a longer tarry in the city be

<sup>1</sup> *Nondum ære lavantur.* The fee was a quadrans: vi., 447.

<sup>2</sup> *Traducimur.* Cf. viii., 17. *Squalentes traducit avos.*

<sup>3</sup> *Modo captas Orcadas.* A.D. 78, Clinton, F. R. "Insulas quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque." Tac., Agric., c. x.; cf. c. xii. "Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram: *nox* clara, et extrema Britanniae parte *brevis*, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas."



granted to these youths, they will never lack a lover. Their plaids, and knives, and bits, and whips, will soon be discarded. Thus it is the vices of our young nobles are aped even at Artaxata.<sup>1</sup>

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## SATIRE III.

### ARGUMENT.

UMBRIUS, an Aruspex and friend of the author, disgusted at the prevalence of vice and the disregard of unassuming virtue, is on the point of quitting Rome; and when a little way from the city stops short to acquaint the poet, who has accompanied him, with the causes of his retirement. These may be arranged under the following heads: That Flattery and Vice are the only thriving arts at Rome; in these, especially the first, foreigners have a manifest superiority over the natives, and consequently engross all favor—that the poor are universally exposed to scorn and insult—that the general habits of extravagance render it difficult for them to subsist—that the want of a well-regulated police subjects them to numberless miseries and inconveniences, aggravated by the crowded state of the capital, from all which a country life is happily free: on the tranquillity and security of which he dilates with great beauty.

ALTHOUGH troubled at the departure of my old friend, yet I can not but commend his intention of fixing his abode at Cumæ, now desolate, and giving the Sibyl one citizen at least. It is the high road to Baiæ, and has a pleasant shore; a delightful retreat. I prefer even Prochyta<sup>2</sup> to the Suburra. For what have we ever looked on so wretched or so lonely, that you would not deem it worse to be in constant dread of fires, the perpetual falling-in of houses, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Referunt*. Cf. i., 41. "Multum *referens* de Mæcenate supino." The fashion is not only carried back to Armenia, but copied there. *Prætextatus*. Cf. i., 78. *Artaxata*, the capital of Armenia, was taken by Corbulo, A.D. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Prochyta*. An island in the bay of Naples, now called Procida.

thousand dangers of the cruel city,<sup>1</sup> and poets spouting in the month of August.<sup>2</sup> But while his whole household is being stowed in a single wagon, my friend Umbricitus halted at the ancient triumphal arches<sup>3</sup> and the moist Capena. Here, where Numa used to make assignations with his nocturnal mistress, the grove of the once-hallowed fountain and the temples are in our days let out to Jews, whose whole furniture is a basket and bundle of hay.<sup>4</sup> For every single tree is bid to pay a rent to the people, and the Camenæ having been ejected, the wood is one mass of beggars. We descended into the valley of Egeria and the grottoes, so altered from what nature made them. How much more should we feel the influence of the presiding genius of the spring,<sup>5</sup> if turf inclosed the waters with its margin of green, and no marble profaned the native tufo. Here then Umbricitus began :<sup>6</sup>

“Since at Rome there is no place for honest pursuits, no profit to be got by honest toil—my fortune is less to-day than it was yesterday, and to-morrow must again make that little less—we purpose emigrating to the spot where Dædalus put off his wearied wings, while my gray hairs are still but few, my old age green and erect ; while something yet re-

<sup>1</sup> *Sævæ*, “from the ceaseless alarms it causes.” *Sævus est qui terret.*” Donat. in Ter., *Adelp.*, v. s. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Augusto*. Cf. Plin., 1, *Epist.* xiii. “Magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit ; toto mense Aprili nullus ferè dies quo non recitaret aliquis.”

<sup>3</sup> Either those of Romulus, or the aqueduct ; and “moist Capena,” either from the constant dripping of the aqueduct (hence *arcus stillans*), or from the springs near it, hence called *Fontinalis* ; now St. Sebastian’s gate. It opens on the *Via Appia*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vi., 542.

<sup>5</sup> “O how much more devoutly should we cling

To thoughts that hover round the sacred spring !” Badham. Read *præsentius* : cf. Plin., *Ep.* viii., 8, the description of the *Clitumnus*, and Ov., *Met.*, iii., 155, *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Umbricitus (*aruspicum in nostro ævo peritissimus*, Plin., x., c. iii.) is said to have predicted Galba’s death, and probably therefore, with Juvenal, cordially hated Otho.

mains for Lachesis to spin, and I can bear myself on my own legs, without a staff to support my right hand. Let us leave our native land. There let Arturius and Catulus live. Let those continue in it who turn black to white ; for whom it is an easy matter to get contracts for building temples, clearing rivers, constructing harbors,<sup>1</sup> cleansing the sewers, the furnishing a funeral,<sup>2</sup> and under the mistress-spear set up the slave to sale."<sup>3</sup>

These fellows, who in former days were horn-blowers, and constant attendants on the municipal amphitheatres, and whose puffed cheeks were well known through all the towns, now themselves exhibit gladiatorial shows, and when the thumbs of the rabble are turned up, let any man be killed to court the mob. Returned from thence, they farm the public jakes.

And why not every thing ? Since these are the men whom Fortune, whenever she is in a sportive mood, raises from the dust to the highest pinnacle of greatness.<sup>4</sup>

What shall *I* do at Rome ? I can not lie ; if a book is bad, I can not praise it and beg a copy. I know not the motions of the stars. I neither will nor can promise a man to secure his father's death. I never inspected the entrails of a toad.<sup>5</sup> Let others understand how to bear to a bride the messages

<sup>1</sup> *Portus* may mean, "constructing" or "repairing" harbors ; or "farming the harbor-dues," *portoria*.

<sup>2</sup> Scipio's was performed by contract. Plin., H. N., xxxi., 3.

<sup>3</sup> The spear was set up in the forum to show that an auction was going on there. Hence things so sold were said to be sold *sub hasta*. *Domina* implies "the right of disposal" of all things and persons there put up. This may mean, therefore, to buy a drove of slaves on speculation, and sell them again by auction ; or, when they have squandered their all, put themselves up to sale. So Britann. Dryden, "For gain they sell their very head." "Salable as slaves." Hodgson. So Browne, who reads "*præbere caput domino*."

<sup>4</sup> "From abject meanness lifts to wealth and power." Badham. Cf. vi., 608,

<sup>5</sup> "Though a soothsayer, I am no astrologer." "I never examined the entrails of a toad."

and presents of the adulterer ; no one shall be a thief by my co-operation ; and therefore I go forth, a companion to no man,<sup>1</sup> as though I were crippled, and a trunk useless from its right hand being disabled.<sup>2</sup>

Who, now-a-days, is beloved except the confidant of crime, and he whose raging mind<sup>3</sup> is boiling with things concealed, and that must never be divulged ? He that has made you the partaker of an honest secret, thinks that he owes you nothing, and nothing will he ever pay. He will be Verres' dear friend, who can accuse Verres at any time he pleases. Yet set not thou so high a price on all the sands of shady Tagus,<sup>4</sup> and the gold rolled down to the sea, as to lose your sleep, and to your sorrow take bribes that ought to be spurned,<sup>5</sup> and be always dreaded by your powerful friend.

What class of men is now most welcome to our rich men, and whom I would especially shun, I will soon tell you ; nor shall shame prevent me.<sup>6</sup> It is that the city is become Greek, Quirites, that I can not tolerate ; and yet how small the proportion even of the dregs of Greece ! Syrian Orontes has long since flowed into the Tiber, and brought with it its

<sup>1</sup> "Therefore (because I will lend myself to no speculation) no great man will take me in his suite when he goes to his province." Cf. Sat. viii., 127, "Si tibi sancta cohors comitum." This is better than, "Therefore I leave Rome alone!" Markland proposes, *extinctâ dextrâ*.

<sup>2</sup> "Like a dead member from the body rent,  
Maim'd and unuseful to the government." Dryden.

"No man's confederate, here alone I stand,  
Like the maim'd owner of a palsied hand." Badham.

"Lopp'd from the trunk, a dead, unuseful hand." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> Isa., lvii., 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Opaci*, Lubin interprets as equivalent to *turbulenti*, "turbid with gold." On this Grangæus remarks, "*Apagè Germani haud germanam interpretationem! opaci enim est umbris arborum obscuri.*" Cf. Mart., i., Ep. 50, "*Æstus serenos aureo franges Tago obscurus umbris arborum.*"

<sup>5</sup> "Grasp thou no boon with sadness on thy brow,  
Spurn the base bribe that binds a guilty vow." Badham.

<sup>6</sup> "Shame for Rome that harbors such a crew."

language, morals, and the crooked harps with the flute-player, and its national tambourines, and girls made to stand for hire at the Circus. Go thither, ye who fancy a barbarian harlot with embroidered turban. That rustic of thine, Quirinus, takes his Greek supper-cloak, and wears Greek prizes, on his neck besmeared with Ceroma.<sup>1</sup> One forsaking steep, Sicyon, another Amydon, a third from Andros, another from Samos, another again from Tralles, or Alabanda,<sup>2</sup> swarm to Esquilæ, and the hill called from its osiers, destined to be the very vitals, and future lords of great houses.<sup>3</sup> These have a quick wit, desperate impudence, a ready speech, more rapidly fluent even than Isæus.<sup>4</sup> Tell me what you fancy he is? He has brought with him whatever character you wish—grammarian, rhetorician, geometer, painter, trainer,<sup>5</sup> soothsayer, rope-dancer, physician, wizard—he knows every thing. Bid the hungry Greekling go to heaven! He'll go.<sup>6</sup> In short, it was neither Moor, nor Sarmatian, nor Thracian, that took wings, but one born in the heart of Athens.<sup>7</sup> Shall I not shun these men's purple robes? Shall this fellow take precedence of me in signing his name, and recline pillowed on a more honorable couch than I, though imported to Rome by the same wind that brought the plums

<sup>1</sup> The Roman hind, once so renowned for rough and manly virtues, now wears the costume of effeminate Greeks: or all these Greek terms, used to show the poet's supreme contempt, may refer to the games: the Trechedipna, not the thin supper-robe, but the same as the Endromis. The Ceroma, an ointment made of oil, wax, and clay, with which they bedaubed themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Amydon in Pœonia, Tralles in Lydia, Alabanda in Caria.

<sup>3</sup> "Work themselves inward, and their patrons out." Dryden.

"Deep in their patron's heart, and fix'd as fate,

The future lords of all his vast estate." Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> "Torrents of words that might Isæus drown." Badham.

<sup>5</sup> Aliptes, one who anoints (ἀλειφει), and therefore trains, athletes.

<sup>6</sup> So Johnson. "All sciences the hungry Monsieur knows,  
And bid him go to hell—to hell he goes!"

<sup>7</sup> Some think there is an allusion here to a man who attempted to repeat Icarus' experiment before Nero. Vid. Suet., Nero, 13.

and figs? Does it then go so utterly for nothing, that my infancy inhaled the air of Aventine, nourished on the Sabine berry? Why add that this nation, most deeply versed in flattery, praises the conversation of an ignorant, the face of a hideously ugly friend, and compares some weak fellow's crane-like neck to the brawny shoulders of Hercules, holding Antæus far from his mother Earth: and is in raptures at the squeaking voice <sup>2</sup> not a whit superior in sound to that of the cock as he bites the hen. We may, it is true, praise the same things, if we choose. But *they* are believed. Can he be reckoned a better actor,<sup>3</sup> when he takes the part of Thais, or acts the wife in the play, or Doris<sup>4</sup> without her robe. It is surely a woman in reality that seems to speak, and not a man personifying one. You would swear it was a woman, perfect in all respects. In their country, neither Antiochus, nor Stratocles, or Demetrius and the effeminate Hæmus, would call forth admiration. For there every man's an actor. Do you smile? He is convulsed with a laugh far more hearty. If he spies a tear in his friend's eye, he bursts into a flood of weeping; though in reality he feels no grief. If at the winter solstice you ask for a little fire, he calls for his thick coat. If you say, I am hot! he breaks into a sweat. Therefore we are not fairly matched; he has the best of it, who can at any time, either by night or day, assume a fictitious face; kiss his hands in ecstasy, quite ready to praise his patron's grossest acts; if the golden cup has emitted a sound, when its bottom is inverted.

Besides, there is nothing that is held sacred by these fellows, or that is safe from their lust. Neither the mistress

<sup>1</sup> *Cottana*, "ficorum genus." Plin., xiii., 5.

<sup>2</sup> "As if squeezed in the passage by the narrowness of the throat."

<sup>3</sup> His powers of flattery show his ability of assuming a fictitious character as much as his skill in acting.

<sup>4</sup> Or the "Dorian maid." They were scantily dressed. Hence the *φαινομηρίδες* of Ibycus.



of the house, nor your virgin daughter, nor her suitor, unbearded as yet, nor your son, heretofore chaste. If none of these are to be found, he assails his friend's grandmother. They aim at learning the secrets of the house, and from that knowledge be feared.

And since we have begun to make mention of the Greeks, pass on to their schools of philosophy, and hear the foul crime of the more dignified cloak.<sup>1</sup> It was a Stoic that killed Bareas—the informer, his personal friend—the old man, his own pupil—bred on that shore<sup>2</sup> on which the pinion of the Gorgonean horse lighted. There is no room for any Roman here, where some Protogenes, or Diphilus, or Erimanthus reigns supreme; who, with the common vice of his race, never shares a friend, but engrosses him entirely to himself. For when he has infused into his patron's too ready ear one little drop of the venom of his nature and his country, I am ejected from the door; all my long-protracted service goes for naught. Nowhere is the loss of a client of less account. Besides (not to flatter ourselves) what service can the *poor man* render, what merit can *he* plead, even though he be zealous enough to hasten in his toga<sup>3</sup> before break of day, when the very *prætor* himself urges on his lictor, and bids him hurry on with headlong speed, since the childless matrons have been long awake, lest his colleague<sup>4</sup> be before-

<sup>1</sup> *Major abolla*, seems to be a proverbial expression; it may either be the "Stoic's cloak," which was more *ample* than the scanty robe of the cynic; or "the *philosopher's* cloak," which has therefore more dignity and weight with it than the soldier's or civilian's. The allusion is to P. Egnatius Celer, the Stoic, who was bribed to give the false testimony on which Bareas Soranus was convicted. V. Tac., Ann., xvi., 21, seq. and 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ripa*. Commentators are divided between Tarsus, Thebes, and Corinth.

<sup>3</sup> *Togatus*. Gifford quotes Martial, x., Ep. 10.

"Quid faciet pauper cui non licet esse clienti?

Dimisit nostras purpura vestra togas."

<sup>4</sup> *Collega*; alluding to the two prætors, "Urbanus" and "Perigrinus."

hand with him in paying his respects to Albina and Modia. Here, by the side of a slave, if only rich, walks the son of the free-born ;<sup>1</sup> for the other gives to Calvina, or Catiena (that he may enjoy her once or twice), as much as the tribunes in the legion receive ;<sup>2</sup> whereas you, when the face of a well-dressed harlot takes your fancy, hesitate to hand Chione from her exalted seat.

Produce me at Rome a witness of as blameless integrity as the host of the Idæan deity ;<sup>3</sup> let Numa stand forth, or he that rescued Minerva when in jeopardy from her temple all in flames : the question first put would be as to his income, that about his moral character would come last of all. "How many slaves does he keep? How many acres of public land does he occupy?" With how many and what expensive dishes is his table spread?" In exact proportion to the sum of money a man keeps in his chest, is the credit given to his oath. Though you were to swear by all the altars of the Samothracian and our own gods, the poor man is believed to despise the thunder-bolts and the gods, even with the sanction of the gods themselves. Why add that this same poor man furnishes material and grounds for ridicule to all, if his cloak is dirty and torn, if his toga is a little soiled, and one shoe gapes with its upper leather burst ; or if more than one patch displays the coarse fresh darning thread, where a rent has been sewn up. Poverty, bitter though it be, has no sharper pang than this, that it makes men ridiculous. "Let

<sup>1</sup> *Claudit latus*. This is the order Britannicus takes. "Claudere latus" means not only to accompany, as a mark of respect, but to give the inner place ; to become his "comes exterior." Horace ii., Sat. v., 18. So Gifford, "And if they walk beside him, yield the wall."

<sup>2</sup> "For one cold kiss a tribune's yearly pay." Hodgson. i.e., forty-eight pieces of gold. Cf. Suet., Vesp., xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> P. Scipio Nasica (vid. Liv. xxix., 10) and L. Cæcilius Metellus. Cf. Ov., Fasti, vi., 437.

<sup>4</sup> Possidet. Vid. Niebuhr.

him retire, if he has any shame left, and quit the cushions of the knights, that has not the income required by the law, and let these seats be taken by"—the sons of pimps, in whatever brothel born! Here let the son of the sleek crier<sup>1</sup> applaud among the spruce youths of the gladiator, and the scions of the fencing-school. Such is the will of the vain Otho, who made the distinction between us.<sup>2</sup>

Who was ever allowed at Rome to become a son-in-law if his estate was inferior, and not a match for the portion of the young lady? What *poor* man's name appears in any will? When is he summoned to a consultation even by an ædile? All Quirites that are poor, ought long ago to have emigrated in a body.<sup>3</sup> Difficult indeed is it for those to emerge from obscurity whose noble qualities are cramped by narrow means at home; but at Rome, for men like these, the attempt is still more hopeless; it is only at an exorbitant price they can get a wretched lodging, keep for their servants, and a frugal meal.<sup>4</sup> A man is ashamed here to dine off pottery ware,<sup>5</sup> which, were he suddenly transported to the Marsi and a Sabine board, contented there with a coarse bowl of blue earthenware, he would no longer deem discreditable. There is a large portion of Italy (if we allow the fact), where no one puts on the toga, except the dead.<sup>6</sup> Even when the very majesty of festival days is celebrated in a theatre reared of turf,<sup>7</sup> and the well-known farce at length returns to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mart., v., Ep. 8 and 25, who speaks of one Lectius as an officious keeper of the seats.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. x., 323.

<sup>3</sup> "Long, long ago, in one despairing band,  
The poor, self-exiled, should have left the land." Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> "A menial board and parsimonious fare." Hodgson.

<sup>5</sup> "Negavit." Some commentators imagine Curius Dentatus to be here alluded to. It seems better to take it as a *general* remark. Read "culullo," not "cucullo," with Browne.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mart., ix., 588.

<sup>7</sup> *Herboso*, the first permanent theatre even in Rome itself, was built

stage,<sup>1</sup> when the rustic infant on its mother's lap is terrified at the wide mouth of the ghastly mask, *there* you will see all costumes equal and alike, both orchestra and common people. White tunics are quite sufficient as the robe of distinction for the highest personages there, even the very ædiles. Here, in Rome, the splendor of dress is carried beyond men's means; here, something more than is enough, is taken occasionally from another's chest. In this fault all participate. Here we all live with a poverty that apes our betters. Why should I detain you? Every thing at Rome is coupled with high price. What have you to give, that you may occasionally pay your respects to Cossus? that Veiento may give you a passing glance, though without deigning to open his mouth? One shaves the beard, another deposits the hair of a favorite; the house is full of venal cakes.<sup>2</sup> Now learn this fact, and keep it to work within your breast. We clients are forced to pay tribute and increase the private income of these pampered slaves.

Who dreads, or ever did dread, the falling of a house at cool Prænesta, or at Volsinii seated among the well-wooded hills, or simple Gabii,<sup>3</sup> or the heights of sloping Tibur. We, in Rome, inhabit a city propped in great measure on a slender shore.<sup>4</sup> For so the steward props up the falling walls,<sup>5</sup> and when he has plastered over the old and gaping crack, bids us sleep without sense of danger while ruin hangs over

by Pompey. Cf. *In gradibus sedit populus de cæspite factis*. Ov., *Art. Am.*, i., 107. Cf. *Virg.*, *Æn.*, v., 286.

<sup>1</sup> "In the state show repeated now for years." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Libis*. So many of these "complimentary cakes" are sent in honor of this event, that they are actually "sold" to get rid of them.

"Good client, quickly to the mansion send

Cakes bought by thee for rascal slaves to vend." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Gabii*, renowned for the ease with which Sex. Tarquin duped the inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> *Pronum*, i.e., supinum. Hor., *iii.* Od. *iv.*, 23, on a steep acclivity.

<sup>5</sup> "And 'tis the village mason's daily calling,  
To keep the world's metropolis from falling." Dryden.

our heads !<sup>1</sup> I must live in a place where there are no fires, no nightly alarms. Already is Ucalegon shouting for water, already is he removing his chattels : the third story in the house you live in is already in a blaze. You are unconscious ! For if the alarm begin from the bottom of the stairs, he will be the last to be burned whom a single tile protects from the rain, where the tame pigeons lay their eggs. Codrus had a bed too small for his Procula, six little jugs the ornament of his sideboard, and a little can besides beneath it, and a Chiron reclining under the same marble ; and a chest now grown old in the service contained his Greek books, and opic<sup>2</sup> mice-gnawed poems of divine inspiration. Codrus possessed nothing at all ; who denies the fact ? and yet all that little nothing that he had, he lost. But the climax that crowns his misery is the fact, that though he is stark naked and begging for a few scraps, no one will lend a hand to help him to bed and board. But, if the great mansion of Asturius has fallen, the matrons appear in weeds,<sup>3</sup> the senators in mourning robes, the prætor adjourns the courts. Then it is we groan for the accidents of the city ; then we loathe the very name of fire. The fire is still raging, and already there runs up to him one who offers to present him with marble, and contribute toward the rebuilding. Another will present him with naked statues of Parian marble,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Then bid the tenant sleep secure from dread,

While the loose pile hangs trembling o'er his head." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Opici*. Cf. vi., 455. *Opicæ castigat amicæ verba*; i.e., barbarous, rude, unlearned, "the Goths of mice;" from the Opici or Osci, an Ausonian tribe on the Liris, from whom many barbarous innovations were introduced into Roman manners and language. "*Divina*" may either refer to Homer's poems, or to Codrus's own, which in his own estimation were "divine." Cf. Sat. i., 2, "*rauci Theseide Codri*."

<sup>3</sup> *Horrida*. In all public misfortunes, the Roman matrons took their part in the common mourning, by appearing without ornaments, in weeds, and with disheveled hair. Cf. viii., 267. Liv., ii., 7. Luc., *Phars.*, ii., 28, *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Candida*. Cf. Plin., xxxiv., 5. The Parian marble was the whitest, hence Virg. *Æn.*, iii., 126, "*Niveamque Paron*."

another with a chef-d'œuvre of Euphranor or Polycletus.<sup>1</sup> Some lady will contribute some ancient ornaments of gods taken in our Asiatic victories; another, books and cases<sup>2</sup> and a bust of Minerva; another, a whole bushel of silver. Persicus, the most splendid of childless men, replaces all he has lost by things more numerous and more valuable, and might with reason be suspected of having himself set his own house on fire.<sup>3</sup>

If you can tear yourself away from the games in the circus,<sup>4</sup> you can buy a capital house at Sora, or Fabrateria, or Frusino, for the price at which you are now hiring your dark hole for one year. There you will have your little garden, a well so shallow as to require no rope and bucket, whence with easy draught you may water your sprouting plants. Live there, enamored of the pitchfork, and the dresser of your trim garden,<sup>5</sup> from which you could supply a feast to a hundred Pythagoreans. It is something to be able in any spot, in any retreat whatever, to have made one's self proprietor even of a single lizard.

Here full many a patient dies from want of sleep; but that exhaustion is produced by the undigested food that loads the fevered stomach. For what lodging-houses allow of sleep? None but the very wealthy can sleep at Rome.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Polycletus*. Cf. viii., 103. His master-piece was the Persian body-guard (cf. *Ælian.*, V. H., xiv., 8), called the "Canon." Vid Müller's *Archæol. of Art.* § 120. Euphranor the painter belonged, like Polycletus, to the Sicynic school.

<sup>2</sup> *Foruli* or *plutei*, cases for holding MSS. Cf. ii., 7. Suet., Aug., xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mart., iii., Ep. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Circus*. Cf. x., 81, *duas tantum res anxius optat Panem et Circenses*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Milton. "And add to these retired leisure,  
That in trim gardens takes his pleasure."

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, "Only the very rich can afford to buy 'Insulæ,' in the quiet part of the city, where their rest will not be broken by the noise of their neighbors, or the street."



Hence is the source of the disease. The passing of wagons in the narrow curves of the streets, and the mutual revilings of the team-drivers<sup>1</sup> brought to a stand-still, would banish sleep even from Drusus and sea-calves.<sup>2</sup>

If duty calls him,<sup>3</sup> the rich man will be borne through the yielding crowd, and pass rapidly over their heads on the shoulders of his tall Liburnian, and, as he goes, will read or write, or even sleep inside his litter,<sup>4</sup> for his sedan with windows closed entices sleep. And still he will arrive before us. In front of us, as we hurry on, a tide of human beings stops the way; the mass that follows behind presses on our loins in dense concourse; one man pokes me with his elbow, another with a hard pole;<sup>5</sup> one knocks a beam against my head, another a ten-gallon cask. My legs are coated thick with mud; then, anon, I am trampled upon by great heels all round me, and the hob-nail of the soldier's caliga remains imprinted on my toe.

Do you not see with what a smoke the sportula is frequented? A hundred guests! and each followed by his portable kitchen.<sup>6</sup> Even Corbulo<sup>7</sup> himself could scarcely carry such a number of huge vessels, so many things piled upon his head, which, without bending his neck, the wretched little slave supports, and keeps fanning his fire as he runs along.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mandra*; properly "a pen for pigs or cattle," then "a team or drove of cattle, mules," etc.; as Martial, v., Ep. xxii., 7, "*Mulorum vincere mandras*." Here "the drovers" themselves are meant.

<sup>2</sup> *Drusum*. Cf. Suet., Claud., v., "*super veterem segnitiae notam*." Seals are proverbially sluggish. Cf. Plin., ix., 13. Virg., Georg., iv., 432.

<sup>3</sup> *Officium*; attendance on the levees of the great.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. i., 64; v., 83; vi., 477, 351. Plin., Pan., 24.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, of a litter. Cf. vii., 132.

<sup>6</sup> *Culina*, "a double-celled chafing-dish, with a fire below, to keep the 'dole' warm." The custom is still retained in Italy.

<sup>7</sup> Domitius Corbulo, a man of uncommon strength, appointed by Nero to command in Armenia. Vid. Tac., Ann., xiii., 8.

<sup>8</sup> "The pace creates the draught."

Tunics that have been patched together are torn asunder again. Presently, as the tug approaches, the long fir-tree quivers, other wagons are conveying pine-trees; they totter from their height, and threaten ruin to the crowd. For if that wain, that is transporting blocks of Ligustican stone, is upset, and pours its mountain-load upon the masses below, what is there left of their bodies? Who can find their limbs or bones? Every single carcass of the mob is crushed to minute atoms as impalpable as their souls. While, all this while, the family at home, in happy ignorance of their master's fate, are washing up the dishes, and blowing up the fire with their mouths, and making a clatter with the well-oiled strigils, and arranging the bathing towels with the full oil-flask. Such are the various occupations of the bustling slaves. But the master himself is at this moment seated<sup>1</sup> on the banks of Styx, and, being a novice, is horrified at the grim ferry-man, and dares not hope for the boat to cross the murky stream; nor has he, poor wretch, the obol in his mouth to hand to Charon.

Now revert to other perils of the night distinct from these. What a height it is from the lofty roofs, from which a potsherd tumbles on your brains. How often cracked and chipped earthenware falls from the windows! with what a weight they dint and damage the flint-pavement where they strike it! You may well be accounted remiss and improvident against unforeseen accident, if you go out to supper without having made your will. It is clear that there are just so many chances of death, as there are open windows where the inmates are awake inside, as you pass by. Pray, therefore, and bear about with you this miserable wish, that

<sup>1</sup> *Sedet*; because, being unburied, he must wait a hundred years. Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, vi., 313-330.

they may be contented with throwing down only what the broad basins have held. One that is drunk, and quarrelsome in his cups, if he has chanced to give no one a beating, suffers the penalty by loss of sleep; he passes such a night as Achilles bewailing the loss of his friend;<sup>1</sup> lies now on his face, then again on his back. Under other circumstances, he can not sleep. In some persons, sleep is the result of quarrels; but though daring from his years, and flushed with unmixed wine, he cautiously avoids him whom a scarlet cloak, and a very long train of attendants, with plenty of flambeaux and a bronzed candelabrum, warns him to steer clear of. As for me, whose only attendant home<sup>2</sup> is the moon, or the glimmering light of a rushlight, whose wick I husband and eke out—he utterly despises me! Mark the prelude of this wretched fray, if fray it can be called, where he does all the beating, and I am only beaten.<sup>3</sup> He stands right in front of you, and bids you stand! Obey you must. For what can you do, when he that gives the command is mad with drink, and at the same time stronger than you. “Where do you come from?” he thunders out: “With whose vinegar and beans are you blown out? What cobbler has been feasting on chopped leek<sup>4</sup> or boiled sheep’s head with you? Don’t you answer? Speak, or be kicked! Say where do you hang out? In what Jew’s begging-stand shall I look for you?” Whether you attempt to say a word or retire in silence, is all one; they beat you just the same, and then, in a passion, force you to give bail to answer for the assault. This is a poor man’s liberty! When thrashed

<sup>1</sup> Hom., Il., xxiv., 12, “ἄλλοτε δ’ αὐτε ὕπτιος ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηνής.

<sup>2</sup> *Deducere*; “the technical word for the clients’ attendance on their patrons;” so “forum attingere; in forum deduci.”

<sup>3</sup> “He only cudgels, and I only bear.” Dryden.

<sup>4</sup> *Sectile* or the inferior kind of leek; the better sort being called “capitatum.” Plin., xx., 6. Cf. Sat. xiv., 133, *sectivi porri*.

he humbly begs, and pummeled with fisticuffs, supplicates, to be allowed to quit the spot with a few teeth left in his head. Nor is this yet all that you have to fear, for there will not be wanting one to rob you, when all the houses are shut up, and all the fastenings of the shops chained, are fixed and silent.

Sometimes too a footpad does your business with his knife, whenever the Pontine marshes and the Gallinarian wood are kept safe by an armed guard. Consequently they all flock thence to Rome as to a great preserve.

What forge or anvil is not weighed down with chains? The greatest amount of iron used is employed in forging fetters; so that you may well fear that enough may not be left for plowshares, and that mattocks and hoes may run short. Well may you call our great-grandsires<sup>1</sup> happy, and the ages blest in which they lived, which, under kings and tribunes long ago, saw Rome contented with a single jail.<sup>2</sup>

To these I could subjoin other reasons for leaving Rome, and more numerous than these; but my cattle summon me to be moving, and the sun is getting low. I must go. For long ago the muleteer gave me a hint by shaking his whip. Farewell then, and forget me not! and whenever Rome shall restore you to your native Aquinum, eager to refresh your strength, then you may tear me away too from Cumæ to Helvine Ceres,<sup>3</sup> and your patron deity Diana. Then, equipped with my caligæ,<sup>4</sup> I will visit your chilly regions, to help you in your satires—unless they scorn my poor assistance.

<sup>1</sup> The order is "Pater, avus, proavus, abavus, atavus, tritavus." He means, therefore, eight generations back at least.

<sup>2</sup> Ancus Martius built the prison. Liv., i., 33. The dungeon was added by Servius Tullius, and called from him Tullianum. The next was built by Ap. Claudius the decemvir.

<sup>3</sup> Ceres was worshiped under this epithet at Aquinum. Its origin is variously given.

<sup>4</sup> *Caligatus* may mean, "with rustic boots," so that you may not be reminded of Rome; or "with soldier's boots," as armed for our campaign against the vices of the city.

## SATIRE IV.

## ARGUMENT.

IN this Satire Juvenal indulges his honest spleen against Crispinus, already noticed, and Domitian, the constant object of his scorn and abhorrence. The introduction of the tyrant is excellent; the mock solemnity with which the anecdote of the Turbot is introduced, the procession of the affrighted counselors to the palace, and the ridiculous debate which terminates in as ridiculous a decision, show a masterly hand. The whole concludes with an indignant and high-spirited apostrophe.

ONCE more behold Crispinus!<sup>1</sup> and often shall I have to call him on the stage. A monster! without one virtue to redeem his vices—of feeble powers, save only in his lust. It is only a widow's charms this adulterer scorns.

What matters it then in what large porticoes he wearies out his steeds—through what vast shady groves his rides extend<sup>2</sup>—how many acres close to the forum, or what palaces he has bought? No bad man is ever happy. Least of all he that has added incest to his adultery, and lately seduced the filleted priestess,<sup>3</sup> that with her life-blood still warm must descend into the earth.

But now we have to deal with more venial acts. Yet if any other man had committed the same, he would have come under the sentence of our imperial censor.<sup>4</sup> For what would be infamous in men of worth, a Titius or Seius, was becoming to Crispinus. What can you do when no crime can be so foul and loathsome as the perpetrator himself? He gave six sestertia for a mullet.<sup>5</sup> A thousand sesterces, forsooth!

<sup>1</sup> *Iterum*. Cf. i., 27, "Pars Niliacæ plebis, verna Canopi, Crispinus."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vii., 179.

<sup>3</sup> The vestal escaped her punishment, through Crispinus' interest with Domitian.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sat. ii., 29. Suet., Domit., c. 8. Plin., iv., Epist. xi.

<sup>5</sup> *Sex millibus*, about £44 7s 6d. of English money. The value of the

for every pound of weight, as they allege, who exaggerate stories already beyond belief. I should commend the act as a master-stroke of policy, if by so noble a present he had got himself named chief heir<sup>1</sup> in the will of some childless old man. A better plea still would be that he had sent it to some mistress of rank, that rides in her close chair with its wide glasses. Nothing of the sort! He bought it for himself! We see many things which even Apicius<sup>2</sup> (mean and thrifty compared with him) never was guilty of. Did you do this in days of yore, Crispinus, when girt about with your native papyrus?<sup>3</sup> What! pay this price for fish-scales? Perchance you might have bought the fisherman cheaper than the fish! You might have bought a whole estate for the money in some of our provinces. In Apulia, a still larger one.<sup>4</sup> What kind of luxuries, then, may we suppose were gorged by the emperor himself, when so many sestertia, that furnished forth but a small portion, a mere side-dish of a very ordinary dinner, were devoured by this court buffoon, now clothed in purple. Chief of the equestrian order now is he who was wont to hawk about the streets shads from the same borough<sup>5</sup> with himself.

Begin, Calliope! here may we take our seats! This is no poetic fiction; we are dealing with *facts*! Relate it, Pierian maids! and grant me grace for having called you *maids*.

sestertium was reduced after the reign of Augustus. A mullet even of three pounds' weight was esteemed a great rarity. Vid. Hor., Sat., II., ii., 33, "Mullum laudas trilibrem."

<sup>1</sup> The chief heir was named in the second line of the first table. Cf. Horace, ii., Sat. v., 53. Suet., Cæs., 83; Nero, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sat., xi., 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Papyrus*. Garments were made of papyrus even in Anacreon's days. iv., Od. 4. It is still used for the same purpose.

<sup>4</sup> Land would be probably cheap in Apulia, from its barrenness, and bad air, and the prevalence of the wind Atabulus. Cf. Hor., i., Sat. v., Montes Apulia notos quos torrent Atabulus.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, Alexandria. Of the various readings of this line, "pactâ mercede" seems to be the best. Even the fish Crispinus sold were not his own, he was only hired to sell them for others.



When the last of the Flavii was mangling the world, lying at its last gasp, and Rome was enslaved by a Nero,<sup>1</sup> ay, and a bald one too, an Adriatic turbot of wonderful size fell into the net, and filled its ample folds, off the temple of Venus which Doric Ancona<sup>2</sup> sustains. No less in bulk was it than those which the ice of the Mæotis incloses, and when melted at length by the sun's rays, discharges at the outlets of the sluggish Euxine, unwieldy from their long sloth, and fattened by the long-protracted cold.

This prodigy of a fish the owner of the boat and nets designs for the chief pontiff. For who would dare to put up such a fish to sale, or to buy it? Since the shores too would be crowded with informers; these inspectors of sea-weed, prowling in every nook, would straightway contest the point<sup>3</sup> with the naked fisherman, and would not scruple to allege that the fish was a "stray," and that having made its escape from the emperor's ponds, where it had long reveled in plenty, ought of course to revert to its ancient lord. If we place any faith in Palfurius or Armillatus, whatever is pre-eminently fine in the whole sea, is the property of the exchequer, wherever it swims. So, that it may not be utterly lost, it will be made a present of, though now sickly autumn was giving place to winter, and sick men were already expecting<sup>4</sup> their fits of ague, though the rude tempest whistled and kept the fish fresh, yet the fisherman hurries on as though a mild south wind were blowing. And when the lakes were near at hand, where, though in ruins, Alba<sup>5</sup> still pre-

<sup>1</sup> Nero, i.e., Domitian, who was as much disgusted at his own baldness as Cæsar.

<sup>2</sup> Founded by a colony of Syracusans, who fled from the tyranny of Dionysius.

<sup>3</sup> *Agerunt cum*; perhaps, "be ready to go to law with."

<sup>4</sup> *Sperare* sometimes means to fear. Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, iv., 419.

<sup>5</sup> Alba was Domitian's favorite residence. Vid. Suet., *Dom.*, iv., 19. Plin., iv., Ep. xi., "Non in regiam sed in Albanam villam convocavit."

serves the Trojan fire, and her Lesser Vesta,<sup>1</sup> the wondering crowd for a short space impeded his entrance ; as they made way for him, the folding-doors flew open on ready-turning hinge. The senators, shut out themselves, watch the dainty admitted. He stands in the royal presence. Then he of Picenum begins, " Deign to accept what is too great for any private kitchen : let this day be celebrated as the festival of your genius, haste to relieve your stomach of its burden, and devour a turbot reserved to honor your reign."<sup>2</sup> It insisted on being caught." What could be more fulsome? and yet the great man's crest rose. What flattery is there that it is not prepared to believe, when power is praised as equal to the gods. But there was no dish of sufficient size for the fish. Therefore the senators are summoned to a council—men whom he hated ! men on whose faces sat the paleness engendered by the wretched friendship with the great ! At the loud summons of the Liburnian slave, " Run ! the emperor is already seated !" the first to snatch up his cloak and hurry to the place was Pegasus, lately set as bailiff over the amazed city ;<sup>3</sup> for what else were the præfects of Rome in those days? of whom he was the best and most conscientious dispenser of the laws, though in those days of terror he thought all things ought to be administered by justice unarmed. Crispus<sup>4</sup> came too, that facetious old man, with high character equal to his eloquence and mild dis-

<sup>1</sup> The " Lesser " Vesta, compared with the splendor of her " Cultus " at Rome, which had been established by Numa. The temples were spared at the time of the destruction of Alba by Tullus Hostilius. Vid. Liv., i.

<sup>2</sup> " Sæculum " is repeatedly used in this sense by Pliny, and other writers of this age.

<sup>3</sup> As though Rome had now so far lost her privileges and her liberty, as to be no better than a country vicus, to be governed by a bailiff.

<sup>4</sup> Vibius Crispus Placentinus, the author of the witticism about " Domitian and the flies." Vid. Suet., Dom., 3.

position. Who could have been a more serviceable minister to one that ruled seas, and lands, and peoples, if, under that bane and pest of mankind, he had been allowed to reprobate his savage nature and give honest advice? But what is more ticklish than a tyrant's ear, with whom the life even of a favorite was at stake, though he might be talking of showers or heat, or a rainy spring? He, therefore, never attempted to swim against the stream, nor was he a citizen who dared give vent to the free sentiments of his soul, and devote his life to the cause of truth: and so it was that he saw many winters and eighty summers; safe, by such weapons, even in a court like that. Next to him hurried Acilius, a man of the same time of life; with a youth<sup>1</sup> that ill deserved so cruel a death as that which awaited him, so prematurely inflicted by the tyrant's swords; but nobility coupled with old age, has long since been a miracle. Consequently, for myself, I should prefer being a younger brother of the giants.<sup>2</sup> It was of no avail therefore to the wretched man, that as a naked huntsman in the amphitheatre of Alba, he fought hand to hand with Numidian bears. For who, in our days, is not up to the artifices of the patricians? Who would now admire that primitive cunning of thine, Brutus? It is an easy thing to impose on a king that wears a beard!<sup>3</sup> Then came Rubrius not a whit less pale, though he was no noble, one accused of an ancient and nameless crime, and yet more lost to shame than the pathic satirist.<sup>4</sup> There too is to be seen Montanus' paunch, unwieldy from its size, and Crispus

<sup>1</sup> *Juvene*. Probably a son of this M. Acilius Glabrio, who was murdered by Domitian out of envy at the applause he received when fighting in the arena at the emperor's own command.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, "Terræ filius," Pers., vi., 57, one of the meanest origin.

<sup>3</sup> It was 444 years before barbers were introduced into the city from Sicily.

<sup>4</sup> Alluding to Nero's satire on Quintianus. Vid. Tac., Ann., xv., 49. Quintianus mollitie corporis infamis, et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus.

reeking with unguent though so early in the day, more than enough to furnish forth two funerals; and Pompeius, still more ruthless even than he at cutting men's throats by his insinuating whisper; and he that kept his entrails only to fatten the Dacian vultures, Fuscus, that studied the art of war in his marble palace; and the shrewd Veiento with the deadly Catullus,<sup>1</sup> who raged with lust for a girl he could not see, a monster and prodigy of guilt even in our days, the blind flatterer, a common bridge-beggar<sup>2</sup> invested with this hateful power, whose worthiest fate would be to run begging by the carriages on the road to Aricia, and blow his fawning kisses to the chariot as it descends the hill. No one showed more astonishment at the turbot, for he was profuse in his wonder, turning toward the left, but unfortunately the fish lay on the other side. This was just the way he used to praise the combat and fencing of the Cilician gladiator, and the stage machinery, and the boys caught up by it to the awning. Veiento is not to be outdone by him; but, like one inspired by the maddening influence of Bellona, begins to divine. "A mighty omen this you have received of some great and noble triumph. Some captive king you'll take, or Arviragus will be hurled from his British car. For the monster is a foreign one. Do you see the sharp fins bristling on his back like spears?" In one point only Fabricius was at fault, he could not tell the turbot's country or age. "What then is your opinion? Is it to be cut up?" "Heaven forefend so great dishonor to the noble fish!" says Montanus. "Let a deep dish be provided, whose thin sides may inclose its huge circumference. Some cunning Prome-

<sup>1</sup> *Catullus Messalinus*. Vid. Plin., Ep., iv., 22. Fabricius Veiento wrote some satirical pieces, for which Nero banished him, and ordered his books to be burnt. Vid. Tac., Ann., xiv., 50. He was probably the husband of Hippia, mentioned in the 6th Satire, l. 82.

<sup>2</sup> "Pons." Cf. Sat. v., 8; xiv., 134.

theus to act on this sudden emergency is required. Quick with the clay and potter's wheel! But henceforth, Cæsar, let potters always attend your armies!" This opinion, worthy of the author, carried the day. He was well versed in the old luxury of the imperial court, and Nero's nights,<sup>1</sup> and a second appetite when the stomach was fired with the Falernian.<sup>2</sup> No one in my day was a greater connoisseur in good eating; he could detect at the first bite whether the oysters were natives from Circeii, or the Lucrine rocks, or whether they came from the Rutupian beds, and told the shore an Echinus came from at the first glance.

They rise; and the cabinet being dismissed, the great chief bids the nobles depart whom he had dragged to the Alban height, amazed and forced to hurry, as though he were about to announce some tidings of the Catti and fierce Sicambri; as though from diverse parts of the world some alarming express had arrived on hurried wing. And would that he had devoted to such trifles as these those days of horror and cruelty, in which he removed from the city those glorious and illustrious spirits, with none to punish or avenge the deed! But he perished as soon as he began to be an object of alarm to cobblers. This was what proved fatal to one that was reeking with the blood of the *Lamiæ*!

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suet., Nero, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vi., 430.

## SATIRE V.

## ARGUMENT.

UNDER pretense of advising one Trebius to abstain from the table of Virro, a man of rank and fortune, Juvenal takes occasion to give a spirited detail of the insults and mortifications to which the poor were subjected by the rich, at those entertainments to which, on account of the political connection subsisting between patrons and clients, it was sometimes thought necessary to invite them.

IF you are not yet ashamed of your course of life,<sup>1</sup> and your feeling is still the same, that you consider living at another man's table to be the chief good; if you can put up with such things as not even Sarmentus or Galba, contemptible as he was, would have submitted to even at the unequal<sup>2</sup> board of Cæsar himself; I should be afraid to believe your evidence though you were on oath. I know nothing more easily satisfied than the cravings of nature. Yet even suppose this little that is needed to be wanting, is there no quay vacant? is there no where a bridge, and a piece of mat, somewhat less than half, to beg upon? Is the loss of a supper so great a matter? is your craving so fierce? when, in faith, it were much more reputable<sup>3</sup> to shiver there, and munch mouldy fragments of dog-biscuit. In the first place, bear in mind, that when invited to dinner, you receive payment in full of your long-standing account of service. The sole result of your friendship with the great man is—a meal! This your patron sets down to your account, and, rare though it be, still takes it into the calculation. Therefore, if after the lapse of two months he deigns

<sup>1</sup> *Propositi*. So ix., 20, *flexisse videris propositum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Iniquas*. From the marked difference in the treatment of the different guests.

<sup>3</sup> *Quum Pol sit honestius*. Rupertis' conjecture.



to send for his long-neglected client, only that the third place may not be unoccupied in one couch of his triclinium<sup>1</sup> —“Let us sup together,” he says; the very summit of your wishes! What more can you desire? Trebius has that for which he ought to break his rest, and hurry away with latchet all untied, in his alarm lest the whole crowd at his patron’s levee shall have already gone their round of compliments, when the stars are fading, or at the hour when the chill wain of sluggish Bootes wheels slowly round.<sup>2</sup>

But what sort of a supper is it after all? Wine, such as wool just shorn would not imbibe.<sup>3</sup> You will see the guests become frantic as the priests of Cybele. Wranglings are the prelude of the fray: but soon you begin to hurl cups as well in retaliation; and wipe your wounds with your napkin stained with blood; as often as a pitched battle, begun with pitchers of Saguntine ware, rages between you and the regiment of freedmen. The great man himself drinks wine racked from the wood under some consul with long hair,<sup>4</sup> and sips<sup>5</sup> the juice of the grape pressed in the Social war; never likely, however, to send even a small glass to a friend, though sick at heart. To-morrow, he will drink the produce of the mountains of Alba or Setia,<sup>6</sup> whose country and date age has obliterated by the accumulated mould on the

<sup>1</sup> Trebius is put in the lowest place in the triclinium, the third *culcita*, or cushion, on the lowest (*tertia*) bed, and only because there was no one else to occupy it.

<sup>2</sup> “What is the night? Almost at odds with morning, which is which.” *Macbeth*, Act iii., 4. Cf. *Anacreon*, iii., 1; *Theocr.*, xxiv., 11. *I.e.*, a little after midnight.

<sup>3</sup> “*Tonsuræ tempus inter æquinoctium vernum et solstitium, quum sudare inceperunt oves: a quo sudore recens lana tinsa sucida appellata est. Tonsas recentes eodem die perungunt vino et oleo.*” *Varro*, *R. R.*, II., xi., 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. iv., 103.

<sup>5</sup> “*Tenet*,” or “keeps to himself,” or “holds up to the light.”

<sup>6</sup> *Setine* was the favorite wine of Augustus. *Alban.* Cf. *Hor.*, ii., Sat. viii., 16.

ancient amphora; such wine as, with chaplets on their heads, Thræsea and Helvidius used to drink on the birth-days of the Bruti and Cassius. Virro himself holds capacious cups formed of the tears of the Heliades<sup>1</sup> and phialæ incrustéd with beryl. You are not trusted with gold: or even if it is ever handed to you, a servant is set as a guard over you at the same time, to count the gems and watch your sharp nails. Forgive the precaution: the jasper so much admired there is indeed a noble one: for, like many others, Virro transfers to his cups the gems from off his fingers, which the youth, preferred to the jealous Hiarbas,<sup>2</sup> used to set on the front of his scabbard. You will drain a cup with four noses, that bears the name of the cobbler of Beneventum,<sup>3</sup> already cracked, and fit to be exchanged, as broken glass, for brimstone.<sup>4</sup>

If your patron's stomach is overheated with wine and food, he calls for water cooled by being boiled and then iced in Scythian snow.<sup>5</sup> Did I complain just now that the wine set before you was not the same as Virro's? Why, the very water you drink is different. Your cups will be handed you by a running footman from Gætulia, or the bony hand of some Moor, so black that you would rather not meet him at midnight, while riding through the tombs on the steep Latin

<sup>1</sup> Amber was fabled to be produced by the tears of the sisters of Phaeton, the daughters of the Sun, shed for his loss, on the banks of the Eridanus, where they were metamorphosed into poplars or alders.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, iv., 261.

<sup>3</sup> Nero, on his way to Greece, fell in at Beneventum with one Vatinus, "*Sutrinæ tabernæ alumnus*," whom he took first as his buffoon, and afterward as his confidant. Tac., *Ann.*, xv., 34. Cf. Martial, xiv., Ep. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Sulphura*. Cf. Mart., i., Ep. 43, *Qui pallentia sulphurata fractis permutat vitreis*. Vid. x., 3, *Quæ sulphurata nolit empta ramento Vatiniorum proxeneta fractorum*. Compare the "*Bellarmines*" of mediæval pottery and the Flemish "*Graybeards*."

<sup>5</sup> *Pruinis*. "*Neronis principis inventum est decoquere aquam, vitroque demissam in nives refrigerare*." Plin., xxxi., 3.

way. Before Virro himself stands the flower of Asia, purchased at a greater sum than formed the whole revenue of the warlike Tullus, or Ancus—and, not to detain you, the whole fortunes<sup>1</sup> of all the kings of Rome. And so, when you are thirsty, look behind you for your black Ganymede that comes from Africa. A boy that costs so many thousands deigns not to mix wine for the poor. Nay, his very beauty and bloom of youth justify his sneer. When does he come near you? When would he come, even if you called him, to serve you with hot or cold water? He scorns, forsooth, the idea of obeying an old client, and that *you* should call for any thing from his hand; and that you should recline at table, while he has to stand. Every great house is proportionably full of saucy menials.

See, too, with what grumbling another of these rascals hands you bread that can scarce be broken; the mouldy fragments of impenetrable crust, which would make your jaws ache, and give you no chance of a bite. But delicate bread, as white as snow, made of the finest flour, is reserved for the great man. Mind you keep your hands off! Maintain the respect due to the cutter of the bread!<sup>2</sup> Imagine, however, that you have been rather too forward; there stands over you one ready to make you put it down. “Be so good, audacious guest, as to help yourself from the bread-basket you have been used to, and know the color of your own particular bread.” “So then!<sup>3</sup> it was for this, forsooth, that I so often quitted my wife, and hurried up the steep ascent of the bleak Esquiline, when the vernal sky rattled with the pelting of the pitiless hail, and my great coat dripped whole showers of rain!”

<sup>1</sup> *Frivola*; properly “goods and chattels.” Cf. iii., 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Artocopi*. Cf. Xen., An., IV., iv., 21. Some read *Artoptæ*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the indignant exclamation of Trebius.

See! with how vast a body the lobster which is served to your patron fills the dish, and with what fine asparagus it is garnished all round; with what a tail he seems to look down in scorn on the assembled guests, when he comes in raised on high by the hands of the tall slave. But to you is served a common crab, scantily hedged in<sup>1</sup> with half an egg sliced, a meal fit only for the dead,<sup>2</sup> and in a dish too small to hold it. Virro himself drowns his fish in oil from Venafrum; but the pale cabbage set before you, poor wretch, will stink of the lamp. For in the sauce-boats you are allowed, there is served oil such as the canoe of the Micipsæ has imported in its sharp prow; for which reason no one at Rome would bathe in the same bath with Bocchor; which makes the blackamoors safe even from the attacks of serpents.

Your patron will have a barbel furnished by Corsica, or the rocks of Tauromenium, when all our own waters have been ransacked and failed; while gluttony is raging, and the market is plying its unwearied nets in the neighboring seas, and we do not allow the Tyrrhene fish to reach their full growth. The provinces, therefore, have to supply our kitchen; and thence we are furnished with what Lenas the legacy-hunter may buy, and Aurelia sell again.<sup>3</sup> Virro is presented with a lamprey of the largest size from the Sicilian whirlpool. For while Auster keeps himself close, while he seats himself and dries his wet pinions in prison, the nets,<sup>4</sup> grown venturesome, despise the dangers even of the middle of Charybdis. An eel awaits you—first-cousin to the long snake—or a coarse pike<sup>5</sup> from the Tiber, spotted

<sup>1</sup> *Constrictus*, or, "shrunk from having been so long out of the sea."

<sup>2</sup> *Cæna*; the Silicernium; served on the ninth day to appease the dead. Cf. Plaut., *Pseud.*, III., ii., 7; Aul., II., iv., 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Vendat*. Cf. iii., 187. Aurelia. See Plin., ii., Ep. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Lina*. Cf. Virg., *Georg.*, i., 142.

<sup>5</sup> The pike (*Lupus Tiberinus*) was esteemed in exact proportion to the distance it was caught from the common sewers of Rome. Hor., ii., Sat. ii., 31.

from the winter's ice, a native of the bank-side, fattened on the filth of the rushing sewer, and used to penetrate the drain even of the middle of Suburra.

"I should like to have a word with Virro, if he would lend an attentive ear. No one now expects from you such presents as used to be sent by Seneca to his friends of humble station, or the munificent gifts which the bountiful Piso or Cotta used to dispense; for in days of old the glory of giving was esteemed a higher honor than fasces or inscriptions. All we ask is that you would treat us at supper like fellow-citizens. Do this, and then, if you please, be, as many now-a-days are, luxurious when alone, parsimonious to your guests."

Before Virro himself is the liver of a huge goose; a fat capon, as big as a goose; and a wild boar, worthy of the spear of the yellow-haired Meleager, smokes. Then will be served up truffles, if it happen to be spring, and the thunder, devoutly wished for by the epicure, shall augment the supper. "Keep your corn, O Libya," says Alledius, "un-yoke your oxen; provided only you send us truffles!" Meanwhile, that no single source of vexation may be wanting, you will see the carver<sup>1</sup> capering and gesticulating with nimble knife, till he has gone through all the directions of his instructor in the art. Nor is it in truth a matter of trifling import with what an air a leveret or a hen is carved. You would be dragged by the heels, like Cacus<sup>2</sup> when conquered by Hercules, and turned out of doors, if you were ever to attempt to open your mouth, as though you had three names.<sup>3</sup> When does Virro pass the cup to you, or take

<sup>1</sup> *Structor*. Cf. xi., 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Cacus*. Virg., *Æn.*, viii. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Free Roman citizens had three names, *prænomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*. Slaves had no *prænomen*. Cf. Pers., Sat. v., 76-82. He means to imply that, by turning parasite, Trebius had virtually forfeited the privileges of a free Roman.

one that your lips have contaminated? Which of you would be so rash, so lost to all sense of shame, as to say, "Drink, sir!" to your patron lord? There are very many things which men with coats worn threadbare dare not say. If any god, or god-like hero, kinder to you than the fates have been, were to give you a knight's estate, what a great man would you, small mortal, become all at once from nothing at all! What a dear friend of Virro's! "Give this to Trebius!<sup>1</sup> Set this before Trebius! My dear brother, will you take some of this sweet-bread?"

O money! it is to thee he pays this honor! it is *thou* and he are the brothers! But if you wish to be my lord, and my lord's lord, let no little Æneas sport in your hall,<sup>2</sup> or a daughter more endearing than he. It is the barrenness of the wife that makes a friend really agreeable and beloved. But even suppose your Mycale should be confined, though she should even present you three boys at a birth, he will be the very one to be delighted with the twittering nest; will order his green stomacher<sup>3</sup> to be brought, and the filberts,<sup>4</sup> and the begged-for penny, whenever the infant parasite shall come to dine with him.

Before his friends whom he holds so vile will be set some very questionable toadstools—before the great man himself, a mushroom<sup>5</sup>—but such an one as Claudius ate, *before* that furnished by his wife, *after* which he ate nothing more. Virro will order to be served to himself and his brother

<sup>1</sup> *Da Trebio.* Cf. Suet., Dom., xi., "partibus de cœnâ dignatus est." Xen., Anab., I., ix., 26.

<sup>2</sup> Virg., Æn., iv., 327.

<sup>3</sup> *Viridem thoraca.* Heinrich supposes this to be a mimic piece of armor, to be worn by children playing at soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> *Nuces*, "walnuts;" *minimas nuces*, *nuts*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tac., Ann., xii., 66, 7, "Infusum cibo boletorum venenum;" it was prepared by Locusta. Cf. Sat. i., 71. Martial, Ep., I., xxi., 4, "Boletum qualem Claudius edit, edas." Cf. Suet., Nero, 33.



Virros such noble apples, on whose fragrance alone you are allowed to revel; such as the eternal autumn of the Phæacians produced; or such as you might fancy purloined from the African sisters. You feast upon some shriveled windfall, such as is munched at the ramparts by him that is armed with buckler and helmet: and, in dread of the lash, learns to hurl his javelin from the shaggy goat's<sup>1</sup> back.

You may imagine, perhaps, that Virro does all this from stinginess. No! his very object is to vex you. For what play, what mime is better than disappointed gluttony! All this, therefore, is done, if you don't know it, that you may be forced to give vent to your bile by your tears, and gnash long your compressed teeth. You fancy yourself a freeman—the great man's welcome guest! He looks upon you as one caught by the savor of his kitchen. Nor does he conjecture amiss. For who is so utterly destitute as twice to bear with his insolence, if it has been his good fortune, when a boy, to wear the Tuscan gold,<sup>2</sup> or even the boss, the badge of leather, that emblem of poverty?

The hope of a good dinner deludes you. "See! sure he'll send us now a half-eaten hare, or a slice of that wild-boar haunch.<sup>3</sup> Now we shall get that capon, as he has helped himself!" Consequently you all sit in silent expectation, with bread in hand, untouched and ready for action. And he that uses you thus shows his wisdom—if you *can* submit to all these things, then you *ought* to bear them. Some day

<sup>1</sup> Probably alluding to a monkey exhibited riding on a goat, and equipped as a soldier, to amuse the Prætorian guards at their barrack gate; or, as some think, the "recruit" himself is intended, and then Capella is taken as a proper name.

<sup>2</sup> The golden bulla, hollow, and in the shape of a heart, was borrowed from the Etruscans, and at first confined to the children of nobles. It was afterward borne, like the "tria nomina," by all who were free-born, till they were fifteen. The poorer citizens had it made of leather, or some cheap material, Cf. xiv., 5, hæres bullatus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Xen., Anab., I., ix., 26.

or other, you will present your head with shaven crown, to be beaten : nor hesitate to submit to the harsh lash—well worthy of such a banquet and such a friend as this !

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## SATIRE VI.

### ARGUMENT.

THE whole of this Satire, not only the longest, but the most complete of the author's works, is directed against the female sex. It may be distributed under the following heads: Lust variously modified, imperiousness of disposition, fickleness, gallantry, attachment to improper pursuits, litigiousness, drunkenness, unnatural passions, fondness for singers, dancers, etc.; gossiping, cruelty, ill manners; outrageous pretensions to criticism, grammar, and philosophy; superstitious and unbounded credulity in diviners and fortune-tellers; introducing supposititious children; poisoning their stepsons to possess their fortunes; and, lastly, murdering their husbands.

I BELIEVE that while Saturn still was king, chastity lingered upon earth, and was long seen there : when a chill cavern furnished a scanty dwelling, and inclosed in one common shade the fire and household gods, the cattle, and their owners. When a wife, bred on the mountains, prepared a rustic bed with leaves and straw and the skins of the wild beasts their neighbors ; not like thee, Cynthia<sup>1</sup>—or thee whose beaming eyes the death of a sparrow dimmed with tears—but bearing breasts from which her huge infants might drink, not suck, and often more uncivilized even than her acorn-belching husband. Since men lived very differently then, when the world was new, and the sky but freshly

<sup>1</sup> *Cynthia* is Propertius' mistress ; the other is *Lesbia*, the mistress of Catullus. V. Catull., Carm. iii. "Lugete O Veneres," etc.

created, who, born out of the riven oak, or moulded out of clay, had no parents.

Many traces of primæval chastity, perhaps, or some few at least, may have existed, even under Jove; but then it was before Jove's beard was grown; before the Greeks were yet ready to swear by another's head; when no one feared a thief for his cabbages or apples, but lived with garden uninclosed. Then by degrees Astræa retired to the realms above, with chastity for her companion, and the two sisters fled together.

To violate the marriage-bed, and laugh to scorn the genius that presides over the nuptial couch, is an ancient and a hackneyed vice, Postumus. Every other species of iniquity the age of iron soon produced. The silver age witnessed the first adulterers.

And yet are you preparing your marriage covenant, and the settlement,<sup>1</sup> and betrothal, in our days, and are already under the hands of the master barber, and perhaps have already given the pledge for her finger! Well! you *used* to be sane, at all events! You, Postumus, going to marry! Say, what Tisiphone, what snakes are driving you mad? Can you submit to be the slave of any woman, while so many halters are to be had? so long as high and dizzy windows are open for you, and the Æmilian bridge presents itself so near at hand? Or if, out of so many ways of quitting life, none pleases you, do you not think your present plan better, of having a stripling to sleep with you, who lying there, reads you no curtain lectures, exacts no little presents from you, and never complains that you are too sparing in your efforts to please him?

<sup>1</sup> *Conventum*. Three law terms. *Conventum*, "the first overture." *Pactum*, "the contract." *Sponsalia*, "the betrothing." Hence virgins were said to be *speratæ*; *pactæ*; *sponsæ*.

But Ursidius is delighted with the Julian law<sup>1</sup>—he thinks of bringing up a darling heir, nor cares to lose the fine turtle-dove and bearded mullets,<sup>2</sup> and all the baits for legacies in the dainties of the market. What will you believe to be impossible, if Ursidius takes a wife? If he, of yore the most notorious of adulterers, whom the chest of Latinus in peril of his life has so often concealed, is now going to insert his idiot head in the nuptial halter; nay, and more than this, is looking out for a wife possessed of the virtues of ancient days! Haste, physicians, bore through the middle vein! What a nice man! Fall prostrate at the threshold of Tarpeian Jove, and sacrifice to Juno a heifer with gilded horns, if you have the rare good fortune to find a matron with unsullied chastity. So few are there worthy to handle the fillets of Ceres; so few, whose kisses their own fathers might not dread. Wreath chaplets for the door-posts, stretch thick clusters of ivy over the threshold. Is one husband enough for Iberina? Sooner will you prevail on her to be content with one eye. “Yet there is a great talk of a certain damsel, living at her father’s country-house!” Let her live at Gabii as she lived in the country, or even at Fidenæ, and I grant what you say of the influence of the paternal country-seat. Yet who will dare assert that nothing has been achieved on mountains or in caves? Are Jupiter and Mars grown so old. In all the public walks can a woman be pointed out to you, that is worthy of your wish. On all their benches do the public shows hold one that you could love without misgivings; or one you could pick out from the rest? While the effeminate Bathyllus is acting Leda in the ballet, Tuccia can not contain herself, Appula whines as in the feat of love, Thymele is all attention to the

<sup>1</sup> *Lex Julia*, against adultery, recently revived by Domitian.

<sup>2</sup> *Jubis*. Mulletts being a bearded fish. Plin., ix., 17.

quick, the gentler, and the slow ; and so Thymeles, rustic as she was before, becomes a proficient in the art. But others, whenever the stage ornaments, packed away, get a respite, and the courts alone are vocal (since the theatres are closed and empty, and the Megalesian games come a long time after the plebian), in their melancholy handle the mask and thyrsus and drawers of Accius. Urbicus provokes a laugh by his personification of Autonoe in the Atellan farce. Ælia, being poor, is in love with him. For others, the fibula of the comic actor is unbuckled for a large sum. Some women prevent Chrysogonus from having voice to sing. Hispulla delights in a tragic actor. Do you expect then that the worthy Quintilianus will be the object of their love? You take a wife by whom Echion the harper, or Glaphyrus, or Ambrosius the choral flute-player, will become a father. Let us erect long lines of scaffolding along the narrow streets. Let the door-posts and the gate be decorated with a huge bay, that beneath the canopy inlaid with tortoise-shell,<sup>1</sup> thy infant, Lentulus, supposed to be sprung from a noble sire, may be the counterpart of the Mirmillo Euryalus.

Hippia, though wife to a senator, accompanied a gladiator to Pharos and the Nile, and the infamous walls of Lagos.<sup>2</sup> Even Canopus itself reprobated the immorality of the imperial city. She, forgetful of her home, her husband, and her sister, showed no concern for her native land, or, vile wretch as she was, her weeping children, and, to amaze you even more, quitted the shows and Paris. But though when a babe she had been pillowed in great luxury, in the down

<sup>1</sup> *Testudineo*. Cf. xi., 94. The allusion is to the story told by Pliny, vii., 12, of the consuls Lentulus and Metellus, who were observed by all present to be wonderfully like two gladiators then exhibiting before them. Cf. Val. Max., ix., 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Lagi*. Alexandria, the royal city of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, and his successors.

of her father's mansion, and a cradle of richest workmanship, she despised the perils of the sea. Her good name she had long before despised—the loss of which, among the soft cushions of ladies, is very cheaply held. Therefore with undaunted breast she faced the Tuscan waves and wide-resounding Ionian Sea, though the sea was so often to be changed. If the cause of the peril be reasonable and creditable, then they are alarmed—their coward hearts are chilled with icy fear—they cannot support themselves on their trembling feet. They show a dauntless spirit in those things which they basely dare. If it is their husband that bids them, it is a great hardship to go on board ship. Then the bilgewater is insufferable! the skies spin round them! She that follows her adulterer, has no qualms. The one is sick all over her husband. The other dines among the sailors and walks the quarter-deck, and delights in handling the hard ropes. And yet what was the beauty that inflamed, what the prime of life that captivated Hippias? What was it she saw in him to compensate her for being nicknamed the fencer's whore? For the darling Sergius had now begun to shave his throat; and badly wounded in the arm to anticipate his discharge. Besides, he had many things to disfigure his face, as for instance—he was galled with his helmet, and had a huge wen between his nostrils, and acrid rheum forever trickling from his eye. But then he was a gladiator! It is this that makes them beautiful as Hyacinthus! It was this she preferred to her children and her native land, her sister and her husband. It is the steel they are enamored of. This very same Sergius, if discharged from the arena, would begin to be Veiento in her eyes.

Do you feel an interest in a private house, in a Hippias's acts? Turn your eyes to the rivals of the gods! Hear what



Claudius had to endure. As soon as his wife perceived he was asleep, this imperial harlot, that dared prefer a coarse mattress to the royal bed, took her hood she wore by nights, quitted the palace with but a single attendant, but with a yellow tire concealing her black hair; entered the brothel warm with the old patch-work quilt, and the cell vacant and appropriated to herself. Then took her stand with naked breasts and gilded nipples, assuming the name of Lycisca, and displayed the person of the mother of the princely Britannicus, received all comers with caresses and asked her compliment, and submitted to often-repeated embraces. Then when the owner dismissed his denizens, sadly she took her leave, and (all she could do) lingered to the last before she closed her cell; and still raging with unsatisfied desire, tired with the toil but yet unsated, she retired with sullied cheeks defiled, and, foul from the smoke of lamps, bore back the odor of the stews to the pillow of the emperor.

Shall I speak of the love-philters, the incantations, the poison mingled with the food and given to the step-son? The acts which they commit, to which they are impelled by the imperative suggestions of their sex,<sup>1</sup> are still more atrocious; those they commit through lust are the least of their crimes. "Then, how can it be that even by her husband's showing Cesennia is the best of wives?" She brought him a thousand sestertia! that is the price at which he calls her chaste. It is not with Venus' quiver that he grows thin, or with her torch he burns; it is from that his fires are fed; from her dowry that the arrows emanate. She has purchased her liberty: therefore, even in her husband's presence, she may exchange signals, and answer her love-letters. A rich wife, with a covetous husband, has all a widow's privileges.

<sup>1</sup> *Imperio Sexús.* Cf. xv., 138, *Naturæ imperio.*

“Why then does Sertorius burn with passion for Bibula?” If you sift the truth, it is not the wife he is in love with, but the face. Let a wrinkle or two make their appearance, and the shriveled skin grow flaccid, her teeth get black, or her eyes smaller—“Pack up your baggage,” the freedman will say, “and march. You are become offensive. You blow your nose too frequently. March! and be quick about it! Another is coming whose nose is not so moist.” Meanwhile she is hot and imperious, and demands of her husband shepherds and sheep from Canusium, and elms<sup>1</sup> from Falernum. What a trifle is this? Then every boy she fancies, whole droves of slaves, and whatever she has not in her house, and her neighbor has, must be bought.

Nay, in the mid-winter month, when now the merchant Jason is shut up, and the cottage<sup>2</sup> white with hoar frost detains the sailors all equipped for their voyage, she takes huge crystalline vases,<sup>3</sup> and then again myrrhine of immense size; then an adamant whose history is well known, and whose value is enhanced by having been on Berenice’s finger. This in days of yore a barbarian king gave his incestuous love—Agrippa to his own sister! where bare-foot kings observe festal sabbaths, and a long-established clemency grants long life to pigs.

“Is there not one, then, out of such large herds of

<sup>1</sup> *Ulmos*. Elms, to which the vines were to be “wedded,” therefore put for the vines themselves. Cf. Virg., Georg., i., 2, “Ulmisque adjungere vites.” Cf. Sat. viii., 78, *Stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos*. Hence *Platanus Cœlebs evincet ulmos*. Cf. Hor., Epod., i., 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Casa*. There is another fanciful interpretation of this passage. The *casa candida* is said to mean the “white booths” so erected as to hide the picture of the “Argonautic” expedition, at the time of the *Sigillaria*, a kind of fair following the *Saturnalia*, when gems, etc., were exposed for sale. Cf. Suet., Nero, 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Crystallina* are most probably vessels of pure white glass, which from the ignorance of the use of metallic oxydes were very rare among the Romans, though they possessed the art of coloring glass with many varieties of hue.

women, that seems to you a worthy match?" Let her be beautiful, graceful, rich, fruitful; marshal along her porticoes her rows of ancestral statues; let her be more chaste than any single Sabine that, with hair disheveled, brought the war to a close; be a very phoenix upon earth, rare as a black swan; who could tolerate a wife in whom all excellencies are concentrated! I would rather, far rather, have a country maiden from Venusia, than you, O Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, if along with your exalted virtues you bring as portion of your dower a haughty and disdainful brow, and reckon as part of your fortune the triumphs of your house! Away, I beg, with your Hannibal and Syphax conquered in his camp, and tramp with all your Carthage!

"Spare, I pray thee, Pæan! and thou, O goddess, lay down thine arrows! The children are innocent. Transfix the mother herself!" So prays Amphion. Yet Pæan bends his bow. Therefore she had to bury her herds of children, together with their sire, while Niobe seems to herself to be more noble than Latona's race, and moreover more fruitful even than the white sow. What dignity of deportment, what beauty, can compensate for your wife's always throwing her own worth in your teeth? For all the satisfaction of this rare and chief good is destroyed, if, entirely spoilt by haughtiness of soul, it entails more bitter than sweet. But who is so devotedly uxorious, as not to feel a dread of her whom he praises to the skies, and hate her seven hours out of every twelve? There are some things, trifling indeed, and yet such as no husband can tolerate. For what can be more sickening than the fact that no one woman considers herself beautiful, unless instead of Tuscan she has become a little Greek—metamorphosed from a maid of Sulmo to a "maid of Athens." Every thing is in Greek. (While surely it is more disgraceful for our countrywomen

not to know their mother tongue.) In this language they give vent to their fears, their anger, their joys and cares, and all the inmost workings of their soul. Nay more, they kiss à la Grecque! This in young girls you may excuse. But must thou, forsooth, speak Greek, that hast had the wear and tear of six and eighty years? In an old woman this language becomes immodest, when interspersed with the wanton Ζωὴ καὶ ψυχὴ. You are employing in public, expressions one might think you had just used under the counterpane. For whose passion would not be excited by these enticing and wanton words? It has all the force of actual touching. Yet though you pronounce them all in more insinuating tones than even Hæmus or Carpophorus, your face, the tell-tale of your years, makes all the feathers droop.

If you are *not* likely to love her that is contracted and united to you in lawful wedlock, there seems no single reason why you should marry, nor why you should waste the wedding dinner and bride cakes<sup>1</sup> which you must dispense, when their complimentary attendance is over, to your bridal guests already well crammed; nor the present given for the first nuptial night, when, in the well-stored dish, Dacicus<sup>2</sup> and Germanicus glitters with its golden legend. If you are possessed of such simplicity of character as to be enamored of your wife, and your whole soul is devoted to her alone, then bow your head with neck prepared to bear the yoke. You will find none that will spare a man that loves her. Though she be enamored herself, she delights in tormenting and

<sup>1</sup> *Mustacea* (the Greek *σησαμῆ*. Arist., Pax., 869), a mixture of meal and anise, moistened with new wine.

<sup>2</sup> Dacicus, *i.e.*, gold coins of Domitian—the first from his Dacian, the second from his German wars. It was customary to present a plate full of these to the bride on the wedding night. Domitian assumed the title of Germanicus A.D. 84, and of Dacicus, A.D. 91.

fleeing her lover. Consequently a wife is far more disastrous to him that is likely to prove a kind and eligible husband. You will never be allowed to make a present without your wife's consent. If she opposes it, you must not sell a single thing, or buy one, against her will. She will give away your affections. That good old friend of many long years will be shut out from that gate that saw his first sprouting beard.<sup>1</sup> While pimps and trainers have free liberty to make their own wills, and even gladiators enjoy the same amount of privilege, you will have your will dictated to you, and find more than one rival named as your heirs.

"Crucify that slave." "What is the charge, to call for such a punishment? What witness can you produce? Who gave the information? Listen! Where man's life is at stake no deliberation can be too long." "Idiot! so a slave is a man then! Granted he has done nothing. I *will* it, I *insist* on it! Let my will stand instead of reason!"

Therefore she lords it over her husband:—but soon she quits these realms, and seeks new empires and wears out her bridal veil. Then she flies back, and seeks again the traces of the bed she scorned.<sup>2</sup> She leaves the doors so recently adorned, the tapestry still hanging on the house, and the branches still green upon the threshold. Thus the number grows: thus she has her eight<sup>3</sup> husbands in five years. A notable fact to record upon her tomb!

All chance of domestic happiness is hopeless while your wife's mother is alive. She bids her exult in despoiling her husband to the utmost. She teaches her how to write back nothing savoring of discourtesy or inexperience to the mis-

<sup>1</sup> "She tells thee where to love and where to hate,  
Shuts out the ancient friend, whose beard thy gate  
Knew from its downy to its hoary state." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Æsch.*, *Ag.*, 411, ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στῖβοι φιλόνορες.

<sup>3</sup> *Octo.* Eight divorces were allowed by law.

sives of the seducer. She either balks or bribes your spies ; then, though your daughter is in rude health, calls in Archigenes, and tosses off the bedclothes as too oppressive. Meanwhile the adulterer, concealed apart, stands trembling with impatient expectation. Do you expect, forsooth, that the mother will inculcate virtuous principles, or other than she cherishes herself? It is right profitable too for a depraved old hag to train her daughter to the same depravity.

There is scarcely a single cause in which a woman is not engaged in some way in fomenting the suit. If Manilia is not defendant, she will be plaintiff. They draw up and frame bills of indictment unassisted,<sup>1</sup> quite prepared to dictate even to Celsus<sup>2</sup> the exordium and topics he should use.

The Tyrian Endromides<sup>3</sup> and the Ceroma for women who is ignorant of? Or who has not seen the wounds of the Plastron,<sup>4</sup> which she dints with unwearied foil, and attacks with her shield, and goes with precision through her exercise? A matron most pre-eminently worthy of the trumpet of the Floralia. Unless indeed in that breast of hers she is plotting something deeper, and training in real earnest for the amphitheatre.<sup>5</sup> What modesty can a woman show that wears a helmet, and eschews her sex, and delights in feats of strength? And yet, in spite of all, this virago would not

<sup>1</sup> "They meet in private and prepare the bill, Draw up the instructions with a lawyer's skill." Gifford.

"And teach the toothless lawyer how to bite." Dryden.

<sup>2</sup> *Celsus*. There were two famous lawyers of this name; A. Cornelius Celsus, the well-known physician in Tiberius' reign, who wrote seven books of Institutes, and P. Juventius Celsus, who lived under Trajan and Hadrian, and wrote Digests and Commentaries.

<sup>3</sup> *Endromis*. Cf. iii., 103. "A thick shaggy coat," to prevent cold after the violent exertions in the arena. *Ceroma*. Cf. iii., 68. The gladiator's ointment, made of oil, wax, and clay. "Nec injecto ceromate brachia tendis." Mart., vii., Ep. xxxii., 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Palus*; a wooden post or figure on which young recruits used to practice their sword exercise, armed with shields and wooden swords double the regulation weight.

<sup>5</sup> *Veræ*. Cf. ad i., 22,



wish to become a man. For how small is our pleasure compared to theirs! Yet what a goodly array would there be, if there were an auction of your wife's goods: belt and gauntlets<sup>1</sup> and crest, and the half-armor for the left leg! Or if she shall engage in a different way of fighting,<sup>2</sup> you will be lucky indeed when your young wife sells her greaves. Yet these very same women perspire even in their muslin; whose delicate frames even a slip of sarcenet oppresses. See! with what a noise she makes the home-thrusts taught her by the trainer, and what a weight of helmet bows her down, how firmly she plants herself on her haunches, in what a thick mass is the roll of clothes. Then smile when, laying aside her arms, she takes her oblong vessel. Tell me, ye granddaughters of Lepidus or blind Metellus, or Fabius Gurgus, what actress ever wore a dress like this? When would Asylus' wife cry Hah! at the Plastron?

The bed in which a wife lies is the constant scene of quarrels and mutual recriminations. There is little chance of sleep there. Then is she indeed bitter toward her husband, fiercer than tigress robbed of her whelps; when, conscious of her secret guilt, she counterfeits groans, or hates the servants, or upbraids you with some rival of her own creation, with tears ever fruitful, ever ready at their post, and only waiting her command in what way to flow. You believe it genuine love. You, poor hedge-sparrow, plume yourself, and kiss off the tears! Ah! what amorous lays, what letters would you read, if you were but to examine the writing-case of that adulteress that counterfeits jealousy so well!

But suppose her actually caught in the arms of a slave or knight. "Pray suggest in this case some colorable excuse,

<sup>1</sup> *Manicæ*. If the proper reading is not "*tunicæ*" (as *tunicati fuscina* Gracchi, ii., 117. *Cedamus tunicæ*, viii., 207), the *manicæ* are probably "the sleeves of the tunic." Cf. Liv., ix., 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Diversa*. I.e., as a Retiarius instead of a Mirmillo.

Quintilian!" "We are at fault! Let the lady herself speak!" "It was formerly agreed," she says, "that you should do what you pleased, and that I also might have full power to gratify myself. In spite of your outcry and confounding heaven and sea, I am mortal." Nothing is more audacious than these women when detected. They affect resentment, and borrow courage from their very guilt itself.

Yet should you ask whence are these unnatural prodigies, or from what source they spring; it was their humble fortune that made the Latin women chaste in days of yore, nor did hard toil and short nights' rest, and hands galled and hardened<sup>1</sup> with the Tuscan fleece, and Hannibal close to the city, and their husbands mounting guard at the Colline tower, suffer their lowly roofs to be contaminated by vice. Now we are suffering all the evils of long-continued peace. Luxury, more ruthless than war, broods over Rome, and exacts vengeance for a conquered world. No guilt or deed of lust is wanting, since Roman poverty has disappeared. This was the source whence Sybaris flowed to these seven hills, and Rhodes too, and Miletus, and Tarentum crowned with garlands, insolent and flushed with wine?

Money, the nurse of debauchery, was the first that introduced foreign manners, and enervating riches sapped the sinews of the age with foul luxury. For what cares Venus in her cups? All difference of head or tail is alike to her who at very midnight devours huge oysters, when unguents mixed with neat Falernian foam, when she drains the conch,<sup>2</sup> when from her dizziness the roof seems to reel, and the table

<sup>1</sup> *Duræ*. "Pallade placata lanam mollite puellæ!" The process of softening the wool hardened the hands. *Ov.*, *Fast.*, iii., 817.

<sup>2</sup> *Concha*, a large drinking-cup, shaped like a shell; or, not improbably, some large shell mounted in gold for a cup, like the Nautilus of Middle Ages.

to rise up with the lights doubled in number.<sup>1</sup> Go then, and knowing all this, doubt, if you can, with what a snort of scorn Tullia snuffs up the air when she passes the ancient altar of Chastity; or what Collatia says to her accomplice Maura. Here they set down their litters at night, and bedew the very image of the goddess with copious irrigations, while the chaste moon witnesses their abominations,<sup>2</sup> over which, when morn returns, you pass on your way to visit your great friends.

The secrets of Bona Dea are well known. When the pipe excites them, and inflamed alike with the horn and wine, these Mænads of Priapus rush wildly round, and whirl their locks and howl! Then, as their passions rise, how burning is their lust, how frantic their words, when all power of restraining their desires is lost! A prize is proposed, and Saufeia<sup>3</sup> challenges the vilest of her sex, and bears off the prize. In these games nothing is counterfeit, all is acted to the life; so that even the aged Priam, effete from years, or Nestor himself, might be inflamed at the sight. Then their lust admits of no delay. Then the woman appears in all her native depravity; and by all alike is the shout re-echoed from the whole den—"Now is the proper time. Let in the men!" But the adulterer still sleeps; so she bids the youth put on a female hood, and speed to the spot. If none can be found, they have recourse to slaves. If there is no hope of slaves, they will hire some water-carrier to come. If this fails too, and no men can be found, she would not hesitate to descend still lower in the scale of creation. Oh, would

<sup>1</sup> Compare the well-known epigram on Pitt and Henry Dundas:

"I can't see the Speaker, Hal, can you?"

"Not see the Speaker? I see two!"

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shaksp., *Othello*, Act iii., sc. iii. "In Venice they do let heaven see the pranks they dare not show their husbands!"

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ix., 117.

that our ancient rites and public worship could at least be celebrated, uncontaminated by such pollutions as these! But even the Moors and Indians know what singing wench produced his wares equal in bulk to Cæsar's two Anticatos, in a place whence even a mouse, conscious of his sex, would flee, and every picture is veiled over that represents the other sex. Yet, even in those days, what man despised the deity? or who had dared to ridicule Numa's earthen bowl and black dish, and the brittle vessels from Mount Vatican? But now what altars are there that a Clodius does not assail?

I hear the advice that my good friends of ancient days would give—"Put on a lock! keep her in confinement!" But who is to guard the guards themselves? Your wife is as cunning as you, and begins with them. And, in our days, the highest and the lowest are fired with the same lust. Nor is she that wears out the black pavement with her feet, better than she who is borne on the shoulders of her tall Syrian slaves.

Ogulniā, in order that she may go in due state to the games, hires a dress, and attendants, and a sedan, and pillow, and female friends, and a nurse, and yellow-haired girl<sup>1</sup> to whom she may issue her commands. Yet all that remains of her family plate, and even the very last remnants of it,<sup>2</sup> she gives to well-oiled Athletes. Many women are in straitened circumstances at home; yet none of them

<sup>1</sup> *Amicas*. Lubinus explains it, "Quas tanquam dives habeat loco clientarum." In Greece and Italy blonde hair was as much prized as dark hair was among northern nations. Hence Helen, Achilles, Menelaus, Meleager, etc., are all *ξανθοί*. The ladies, therefore, prided themselves as much as the men on the personal beauty of their attendants. Cf. v., 56, "*Flos Asiæ ante ipsum*," etc. The *nutrix* is the intriguing confidante who manages the amours. The *flava puella*, the messenger.

"A trim girl with golden hair to slip her billets." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Novissima*. Cf. xi., 42, "Post cuncta novissimus exit annulus."

"She who before had mortgaged her estate,

And pawn'd the last remaining piece of plate." Dryden.

has the modest self-restraint that should accompany poverty, or limits herself within that measure which her poverty has allotted and assigned to her. Yet *men* do sometimes look forward to what may be to their interest hereafter, and, with the ant for their instructress, some have at last felt a dread of cold and hunger. Yet woman, in her prodigality, perceives not that her fortune is fast coming to naught ; and as though money, with vegetative power, would bloom afresh<sup>1</sup> from the drained chest, and the heap from which she takes would be ever full, she never reflects how great a sum her pleasures cost her. Some women ever take delight in unwarlike eunuchs, and soft kisses, and the loss of all hope of beard, that precludes the necessity of abortives. Yet the summit of their pleasure is when this operation has been performed in the heat and prime of manhood, and the only loss sustained is that the surgeon Heliodorus cheats the barber of his fees. Such is his mistress' will : and, conspicuous from afar, and attracting the eyes of all, he enters the baths, and vies even with the god that guards our vines and gardens. Let him sleep with his mistress ! But, Postumus, suffer not the youthful Bromius to enter the lists with him.

If she takes delight in singing, the fibula of none of these fellows that sells his voice to the prætor holds out : the instruments are forever in her hands ; the whole lyre sparkles with the jewels thickly set. She runs over the strings with the vibrating quill,<sup>2</sup> with which the soft Hedymeles per-

<sup>1</sup> *Pullulet*. "As if the source of this exhausted store  
Would reproduce its everlasting ore." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Crispo*, actively, "*Crispante chordas*." The pecten was made of ivory. Vid. Virg., *Æn.*, vi., 646, *seq.*

"Obloquitur *numerus* septem discrimina vocum,  
Jamque eadem digitis jam *pectine* pulsat *eburno*."

"Decks it with gems, and plays the lessons o'er,  
Her loved Hedymeles has play'd before." Hodgson.

formed : this she holds in her hands ; with this she consoles herself, and lavishes kisses on the plectrum, dear for its owner's sake. One of the clan of the *Lamiæ*,<sup>1</sup> a lady of lofty rank, inquired with meal-cake and wine of Janus and Vesta, whether Pollio might venture to hope for the oaken crown at the Capitoline games,<sup>2</sup> and promise it to his lyre. What more could she do were her husband sick? What, if the physicians had despaired of her infant son? She stood before the altar, and thought no shame to veil her head for a harper : and went through in due form the words prescribed,<sup>3</sup> and grew pale as the lamb was opened. Tell me now, I pray, tell me, thou ancientest of gods, father Janus ! dost thou return answer to these? Great must be indeed the leisure<sup>4</sup> of heaven ! There can be no business there, as far as I see, stirring among you. One woman consults you about comic actors ; another would fain commend a tragedian to your notice : the soothsayer will become varicose.<sup>5</sup>

But let her rather be musical than fly through the whole city, with bold bearing ; and encounter the assemblies of men, and in her husband's presence herself converse with generals in their scarlet cloaks,<sup>6</sup> with unabashed face and breasts exposed. She too knows all that is going on in the whole world—what the *Seres*<sup>7</sup> or Thracians are engaged in—

<sup>1</sup> *Lamiarum*. Cf. iv., 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Capitolinum*. This festival was instituted by Domitian (Suet., Domit., 4), and was celebrated every fifth year in honor of Jove.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictata*. The repeating the exact formula of words (*carmen*) after the officiating priest was a most important part of the sacrifice.

<sup>4</sup> *Otia*. "Is your attention to such suppliants given?"

If so, there is not much to do in heaven." Gifford.

<sup>5</sup> *Varicosus*. His legs will swell (like Cicero's and Marius's) from standing so long praying.

"The poor Aruspex that stands there to tell

All woman asks, must find his ankles swell." Badham.

<sup>6</sup> *Paludatis*. Cf. Cic., Sext., 33.

<sup>7</sup> *Seres*. What country these inhabited is uncertain, probably Bo-



the secrets of the step-mother and her son—what adulterer is in love, or in great request. She will tell you who made the widow pregnant—in what month it was—in what language and manner each act of love takes place. She is the first<sup>1</sup> to see the comet that menaces the Armenian and Parthian king; and she intercepts<sup>2</sup> at the gates the reports and freshest news. Some she invents as well. That Niphates<sup>3</sup> has overwhelmed whole nations, and that the whole country is there laid under water by a great deluge; that cities are tottering, the earth sinking down—this she tells in every place of resort to every one she meets.

And yet that vice is not more intolerable, than that, though earnestly entreated,<sup>4</sup> she will seize upon her poor neighbors, and have them cut in two with lashes. For if her sound slumbers are disturbed by the barking of a dog, “Bring the clubs<sup>5</sup> here at once!” she cries: and orders the owner first to be beaten with them, and then the dog. Terrible to encounter, most awful in visage, she enters the baths by night—by night she orders her bathing vessels and camp

charia. It was the country from which the “*Sericæ vestes*” or “*multitia*” (ii., 66) came.

<sup>1</sup> *Instantem*. Cf. Hor., iii., Od. iii., 3, “*vultus instantis tyranni*.” Trajan made an expedition against the Armenians and Partians A.D. 106; and about the same time there was an earthquake in the neighborhood of Antioch (A.D. 115), when mountains subsided and rivers burst forth. Dio Cass., lxxviii., 24. Trajan himself narrowly escaped perishing in it. The consul, M. Verginianus Peto, was killed. Trajan was passing the winter there, and set out in the spring for Armenia.—*Cometem*. Cf. Suet., Ner., 36, “*Stella crinita quæ summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur*.”

<sup>2</sup> *Excipit*. “Hear at the city’s gate the recent tale,

Or coin a lie herself when rumors fail.” Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Niphates*. Properly a mountain in Armenia, from which Tigris takes its rise, and which, in the earlier part of its course, may have borne the name of Niphates. Lucan, iii., 245, and Sil. Ital., xiii., 765, also speak of it as a river. Gifford thinks it is a sly hit at the lady, who converts a mountain into a river.

<sup>4</sup> *Exorata* implies that their prayers were heard, otherwise their punishment would have been still more cruel.

<sup>5</sup> *Fastes*. “Ho whips! she cries; and flay that cur accurst,  
But flay the rascal there that owns him first!” Gifford.

to be set in motion. She delights in perspiring with great tumult; when her arms have sunk down wearied with the heavy dumb-bells; and the sly anointer has omitted to rub down no part of her body. Her poor wretches of guests meanwhile are overcome with drowsiness and hunger. At last the lady comes; flushed, and thirsty enough for a whole flagon,<sup>1</sup> which is placed at her feet and filled from a huge pitcher: of which a second pint is drained before she tastes food, to make her appetite<sup>2</sup> quite ravenous. Then having rinsed out her stomach, the wine returns in a cascade on the floor—rivers gush over the marble pavement,<sup>3</sup> or the broad vessel reeks of Falernian—for thus, just as when a long snake has glided into a deep cask, she drinks and vomits. Therefore her husband turns sick; and with eyes closed smothers his rising bile.

And yet that woman is more offensive still, who, as soon as she has taken her place at table, praises Virgil, and excuses the suicide of Dido: matches and compares poets together: in one scale weighs Maro in the balance, and Homer in the other. The grammarians yield; rhetoricians are confuted; the whole company is silenced; neither lawyer nor crier<sup>4</sup> can put in a word, nor even another woman. Such a torrent of words pours forth, you would say so many basins or bells were all being struck at once. Henceforth

<sup>1</sup> *Enophorum*. A vessel of any size. The *Urna* is a determinate measure, holding 24 sextarii, or about 3 gallons, *i.e.*, half the amphora. Cf. xii., 45, “*Urnæ cratera capacem, et dignum sitiente Pholo. vel conjuge Fuscii.*”

<sup>2</sup> *Orexim*; cf. iv., 67, 138. This draught was called the “Trope.” Mart., xii., Ep. 83. Cf. Cic. Pro Deiotaro, 7, “*Vomunt ut edant: edunt ut vomant.*”

<sup>3</sup> *Marmoribus*. Cf. xi., 173, “*Lacedæmonium pytismate lubricat orbem.*” Hor., ii., Od. xxiv., 26, “*Mero tinguet pavementum superbum.*”

<sup>4</sup> *Præco*.

“Dumfounders e’en the crier, and, most strange!  
No other woman can a word exchange.” Hodgson.

let no one trouble trumpets or brazen vessels; she will be able singly to relieve the moon when suffering<sup>1</sup> an eclipse. The philosopher sets a limit even to those things which are good in themselves. For she that desires to appear too learned and eloquent, ought to wear a tunic reaching only to the middle of the leg, to sacrifice a pig to Sylvanus,<sup>2</sup> and bathe for a quadrans. Let not the matron that shares your marriage-bed possess a set style of eloquence, or hurl in well-rounded sentence the enthymeme curtailed<sup>3</sup> of its premiss; nor be acquainted with all histories. But let there be some things in books which she does not understand. I hate her who is forever poring over and studying Palæmon's<sup>4</sup> treatise; who never violates the rules and principles of grammar; and skilled in antiquarian lore, quotes verses I never knew; and corrects the phrases of her friend as old-fashioned,<sup>5</sup> which men would never heed. A husband should have the privilege of committing a solecism.

<sup>1</sup> *Laboranti*. The ancients believed that eclipses of the moon were caused by magic, and that loud noises broke the charm.

"Strike not your brazen kettles! She alone

Can break th' enchantment of the spell-bound moon." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> "*Sylvano* mulieres non licet sacrificare." Vet. Schol. Women sacrificed to Ceres and Juno. Vid. Dennis' *Etruria*, ii., 65-68. Cf. Hor., ii., Ep. i., 143.—*Quadrans*. Philosophers used to go to the commonest baths, either from modesty or poverty. Seneca calls the bath "*Res Quadrantaria*." Cf. Hor., i., Sat. iii., 147. Cic. pro Cœl. "*Quadrantaria permutatio*."

<sup>3</sup> *Torqueat*. Cf. vii., 156, "*Quæ venient diversæ forte sagittæ*." Quint., vi., 3, "*Jaculatio verborum*." So Plato uses the term *δεινὸς ἀκοντιστής*, of a Spartan orator.

<sup>4</sup> *Palæmon*. Cf. vii., 215, "*Docti Palæmonis*." "*Insignis Grammaticus*." Hieron. "Remmius Palæmon, Vicentinus, owed his first acquaintance with literature to taking his mistress' son to school as his "*custos angustæ vernula capsæ*" (x., 117). Manumitted afterward, he taught at Rome in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, and "*principem locum inter grammaticos tenuit*." Vid. Suet., *Gram. Illust.*, 23, who says he kept a very profitable school, and gives many curious instances of his vanity and luxuriousness. He was Quintilian's master. Cf. Vet. Schol., and Clinton, *Fasti Rom. in anno*, A.D. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Opicæ*. Cf. iii., 207, "*Opici mures*." *Opizein Græci dicunt de iis qui imperitè loquuntur*. Vet. Schol.

There is nothing a woman will not allow herself, nothing she holds disgraceful, when she has encircled her neck with emeralds, and inserted earrings of great size in her ears, stretched with their weight. Nothing is more unbearable than a rich woman !

Meanwhile her face, shocking to look at, or ridiculous from the large poultice, is all swollen ; or is redolent of rich Poppæan unguents,<sup>1</sup> with which the lips of her wretched husband are glued up. She will present herself to her adulterer with skin washed clean. When does she choose to appear beautiful at home ? It is for the adulterers her perfumes are prepared. It is for these she purchases all that the slender Indians send us. At length she uncases her face and removes the first layer. She begins to be herself again ; and bathes in that milk,<sup>2</sup> for which she carries in her train she-asses, even if sent an exile to Hyperborean climes. But that which is overlaid and fomented with so many and oft-changed cosmetics, and receives poul-

<sup>1</sup> *Poppæana*. "Cosmetics used or invented by Poppæa Sabina," of whom Tacitus says, "Huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere præter honestum animum." Ann., xiii., 45. She was of surpassing beauty and insatiable ambition: married first to Rufus Crispinus, a knight whom she quitted for Otho. Nero became enamored of her, and sent Otho into Lusitania, where he remained ten years. (Cf. Suet., Otho, 3. Clinton, F. R., a. 58.) Four years after he put away Octavia, banished her to Pandataria, and forced her to make away with herself, and her head was brought to Rome to be gazed upon by Poppæa, whom he had now married, A.D. 62. Cf. Tac., Ann., xiv., 64. Poppæa bore him a child next year, whom he called Augusta, but she died before she was four months old, to his excessive grief. Cf. xv., 23. Three years after, "Poppæa mortem obiit, fortuitâ mariti iracundiâ, à quo grâvida ictu calcis adflicta est." Nero, it is remarkable, died on the same day of the month as the unfortunate Octavia.

<sup>2</sup> *Lacte*. The old Schol. says *Poppæa* was banished, and took with her fifty she-asses to furnish milk for her bath. The story of her exile is very problematical, as Heinrich shows, and is probably only an ordinary hyperbole. Pliny says (xxviii., 12; xi., 41) that asses' milk is supposed to make the face tender, and delicately white, and to prevent wrinkles. "Unde Poppæa uxor Neronis, quocunque ire contigisset secum sexcentas asellas ducebat." ὄνους πεντακοσίας ἀρτιόκους. Xiph., lxii., 28.

tices of boiled and damp flour, shall we call it a face,<sup>1</sup> or a sore?

It is worth while to find out exactly what their occupations and pursuits are through the livelong day. If her husband has gone to sleep with his back toward her, the house-keeper is half killed—the tire-women are stripped to be whipped—the Liburnian slave is accused of having come behind his time, and is forced to pay the penalty of another's sleep; one has rods broken<sup>2</sup> about him, another bleeds from the whips, a third from the cowhide. Some women pay a regular salary to their torturers. While he lashes she is employed in enameling her face. She listens to her friend's chat, or examines the broad gold of an embroidered robe. Still he lashes. She pores over the items in her long diary.<sup>3</sup> Still he lashes. Until at length, when the torturers are exhausted, "Begone!" she thunders out in awful voice, the inquisition being now complete.

The government of her house is no more merciful than the court of a Sicilian tyrant. For if she has made an assignation, and is anxious to be dressed out more becomingly than usual, and is in a hurry, and has been some time already waited for in the gardens, or rather near the chapels of the

<sup>1</sup> *Facies*.

"Can it be call'd a face, so poulticed o'er?

By heavens, an ulcer it resembles more!" Hodgson.

"But tell me yet, this thing thus daub'd and oil'd,  
Thus poulticed, plaster'd, baked by turns and boil'd;  
Thus with pomatums, ointments, lackered o'er,  
Is it a face, Ursidius, or a sore?" Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Frangit*. Cf. viii., 247, "Nodosam post hæc frangebat vertice vitem." The climax here is not correctly observed, according to Horace. "Nec scuticâ dignum horribili sectere flagello: Nam, ut ferula cædas meritum majora subire Verbera non vereor." I., Sat. iii., 119. The *scutica* was probably like the "taurea:" the "cowskin" of the American slave States.

<sup>3</sup> *Diurnum*. "The diary of the household expenses." *Relegit* marks the deliberate cruelty of the lady.

"Beats while she paints her face, surveys her gown,  
Casts up the day's accounts, and still beats on." Dryden.

Isiac<sup>1</sup> procuress ; poor Psecas arranges her hair, herself with disheveled locks and naked shoulders and naked breasts. "Why is' this curl too high?" Instantly the cowhide avenges the heinous crime of the misplacing of a hair. What has poor Psecas done? What crime is it of the poor girl's if your own nose has displeased you?

Another, on the left hand, draws out and combs her curls and rolls them into a band. The aged matron assists at the council, who, having served her due period<sup>2</sup> at the needle, now presides over weighing out the tasks of wool. Her opinion will be first taken. Then those who are her inferiors in years and skill will vote in order, as though their mistress's good name or life were at stake. So great is the anxiety of getting beauty ! Into so many tiers she forms her curls, so many stages high she builds<sup>3</sup> her head ; in front you will look upon an Andromache, behind she is a dwarf—you would imagine her another person. Excuse her, pray, if nature has assigned her but a short back, and if, without the aid of high-heeled buskins, she looks shorter than a Pigmy<sup>4</sup> maiden ; and must spring lightly up on tip-toe for a kiss. No thought meanwhile about her husband ! not a word of her ruinous expenditure ! She lives as though she were merely a neighbor<sup>5</sup> of her husband's, and in this

<sup>1</sup> *Isiacæ*. Cf. ix., 22, "Fanum Isidis . . . Notior Aufidio mœchus celebrare solebas."

<sup>2</sup> *Emerita*. From the soldier who has served his time and become "emeritus."

<sup>3</sup> *Edificat*.

"So high she builds her head, she seems to be,  
View her in front, a tall Andromache ;  
But walk all round her, and you'll quickly find  
She's not so great a personage behind !" Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Pygmæa*.

"Yet not a pigmy—were she, she'd be right  
To wear the buskin and increase her height ;  
To gain from art what nature's stint denies,  
Nor lightly to the kiss on tip-toes rise." Hodgson.

<sup>5</sup> *Vicina*.

"And save that daily she insults his friends,



respect alone is nearer to him—that she hates her husband's friends and slaves, and makes grievous inroads on his purse.

But see! the chorus of the maddened Bellona and the mother of the gods enters the house! and the huge eunuch (a face to be revered by his obscene inferior) who long ago emasculated himself with a broken shell; to whom his hoarse troop and the plebeian drummers give place, and whose cheek is covered with his Phrygian tiara. With voice grandiloquent he bids her dread the approach of September and the autumn blasts, unless she purifies herself with a hecatomb of eggs, and makes a present to him of her cast-off murrey-colored<sup>1</sup> robes: that whatever unforeseen or mighty peril may be impending over her may pass into the tunics, and at once expiate the whole year. She will break the ice and plunge into the river in the depth of winter, or dip three times in Tiber at early dawn, and bathe her timid head in its very eddies, and thence emerging will crawl on bleeding knees, naked and shivering, over the whole field of the haughty king.<sup>2</sup> If white Io command, she will go to the extremity of Egypt, and bring back water fetched from scorching Meroë, to sprinkle on the temple of Isis, that rears itself hard by the ancient sheepfold.<sup>3</sup> For she believes that the warning is given her by the voice of the goddess herself. And this, forsooth, is a fit soul and mind<sup>4</sup> for the gods to

Provokes his servants, and his fortune spends,  
As a mere neighbor she might pass through life,  
And ne'er be once mistaken for his wife." Badham.

<sup>1</sup> *Xerampelinas*. The Schol. describes this color as "inter coccinum et muricem medius," from ζηρός, siccus, ἀμπέλως, vitis, "the color of vine leaves in autumn;" the "morte feuille" of French dyers.

<sup>2</sup> *Superbi*. The Campus Martius, as having belonged originally to Tarquinius Superbus.

<sup>3</sup> *Ōvile*, more commonly *ovilia* or *septa*, stood in the Campus Martius, where the elections were held.

<sup>4</sup> *Animam*, "the moral," *mentem*, "the intellectual part" of the soul. Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, vi., 11, "Cui mentem animamque Delius inspirat Vates." When opposed to *animus*, *anima* is simply "the prin-

hold converse with by night ! He therefore gains the chief and highest honor, who, surrounded by his linen-robed flock,<sup>1</sup> and a bald-headed throng of people uttering lamentations, runs to and fro personating the grinning Anubis. He it is that supplicates for pardon whenever the wife does not refrain from nuptial joys on days to be observed as sacred, and a heavy penalty is incurred from the violation of the snowy sheeting. And the silver serpent was seen to nod his head ! His are the tears, and his the studied mumblings, that prevail on Osiris not to withhold pardon for her fault, when bribed by a fat goose and a thin cake. When he has withdrawn, some trembling Jewess, having quitted her basket and hay, begs in her secret ear, the interpretest of the

ciple of vitality." "Anima, quâ vivimus ; mens qua cogitamus." Lactant. So Sat., xv., 148, "Indulsit communis conditor illis tantum animas nobis animum quoque."

"Doubtless such kindred minds th' immortals seek,

And such the souls with whom by night they speak." Badham.

<sup>1</sup> *Linigero*. Cf. Mart., xii., Ep. xxix., 19, "Linigeri fugiunt calvi sistrataque turba." Isis is said to have been a queen of Egypt, and to have taught her subjects the use of linen, for which reason the inferior priests were all clothed in it. All who were about to celebrate her sacred rites had their heads shaved. Isis married Osiris, who was killed by his brother Typhon, and his body thrown into a well, where Isis and her son Anubis, by the assistance of dogs, found it. Osiris was thenceforth deified under the form of an ox, and called Apis: Anubis, under the form of a dog. (Hence Virg., *Æn.*, viii., 698, "Latrator Anubis.") An ox, therefore, with particular marks (vid. Strab., xvii.; Herod., iii., 28), was kept in great state, which Osiris was supposed to animate; but when it had reached a certain age (non est fas eum certos vitæ excedere annos, Plin., viii., 46), it was drowned in a well (mersum in sacerdotum fonte enecat) with much ceremonious sorrow, and the priests, attended by an immense concourse of people, dispersed themselves over the country, wailing and lamenting, in quest of another with the prescribed marks (quæsituri luctu alium quem substituant; et donec invenerint mærent, derasis etiam capitibus. Plin., ii., 3). When they had found one, their lamentations were exchanged for songs of joy and shouts of *εὐρήκαμεν* (cf. viii., 29, Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri invento), and the ox was led back to the shrine of his predecessor. These gloomy processions lasted some days; and generally during these (or nine days at least) women abstained from intercourse with their husbands. These rites were introduced at Rome, the chief priest personating Anubis, and wearing a dog's head. Hence *derisor*. Cf. xv., 8, "Oppida tota canem venerantur."

laws of Solyma, the potent priestess of the tree—the trusty go-between from highest heaven!<sup>1</sup> And she crosses her hand with money, but sparingly enough: for Jews will sell you any dreams you please for the minutest coin. The soothsayer of Armenia or Commagene,<sup>2</sup> handling the liver of the dove still reeking, engages that her lover shall be devoted, or promises the rich inheritance of some childless rich man; he pries into the breasts of chickens and the entrails of a puppy; sometimes too even of a child—he does acts of which he will himself turn informer!<sup>3</sup>

But their confidence in Chaldæans will be greater still: whatever the astrologer tells them, they will believe reported straight from the fountain of Ammon; since at Delphi the oracles are dumb, and darkness as to the future is the punishment of the human race. However, of these he is in the highest repute who has been often banished; by whose friendship and venal<sup>4</sup> tablets it came to pass that a citizen of high rank<sup>5</sup> died, and one dreaded by Otho. Hence arises confidence in his art, if both his hands have clanked with chains, and he has been long an inmate of the camp-prison. No astrologer that has never been condemned will have any reputation for genius; but he that has hardly escaped with his life, and scarcely had good fortune enough

<sup>1</sup> "Her internuntial office none deny,  
Between us peccant mortals and the sky." Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Commagene* was reduced to a province A.D. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Deferat*. "Or bid. at times, the human victim bleed,  
And then inform against you for the deed." Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Conducenda*.  
"By whose hired tablet and concurring spell,  
The noble Roman, Otho's terror, fell." Hodgson.

<sup>5</sup> *Magnus civis*. Cf. Suet., Otho, 4, "Spem majorém cepit ex affirmatione Seleuci *Mathematici*, qui cum eum olim superstitem Neroni fore spopondisset, tunc ultro inopinatus advenerat, imperatorum quoque brevi repromittens." Cf. Tac., Hist., i., 22, who says one Ptolemæus promised Otho the same when with him in Spain. Ptolemy helped to fulfill his own prediction, "Nec Deerat Ptolemæus, jam et sceleris instinator, ad quod facillimè ab ejusmodi voto transitur."

to be sent to one of the Cyclades,<sup>1</sup> and at length to be set free from the confined Seriphos, he it is whom your Tanaquil<sup>2</sup> consults about the death of her jaundiced mother, for which she has been long impatient; but first, about yourself! when she may hope to follow to the grave her sister and her uncles; whether her adulterer will survive her, for what greater boon than this have the gods in their power to bestow?

And yet she is ignorant what the ill-omened planet of Saturn forebodes; with what star Venus presents herself in fortunate conjunction; what is the month for ill-luck; what seasons are assigned to profit.

Remember to shun even a casual meeting with her in whose hands you see, like the unctuous amber,<sup>3</sup> their calendars well thumbed; who instead of consulting others is now herself consulted; who when her husband is going to join his camp or revisit his home, will refuse to accompany him if restrained by the calculations of Thrasyllus.<sup>4</sup> When it is her fancy to ride as far as the first mile-stone, the lucky hour is taken from her book; if the corner of her eye itches when she rubs it, she calls for ointment after a due inspection of her horoscope: though she lies sick in bed no hour appears

<sup>1</sup> *Cyclada*. Cf. i., 73, "Aude aliquid brevibus Gyarris et carcere dignum." X., 170, "Ut Gyarræ clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho."

<sup>2</sup> *Tanaquil*. Cf. Liv., i., 34, "perita cœlestium prodigiorum mulier."  
"To him thy Tanaquil applies, in doubt

How long her jaundiced mother may hold out." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Pinguis sucina*. The Roman women used to hold or rub amber in their hands for its scent. Mart., iii., Ep. lxx., 5, "redolent quod sucina trita." Xi., Ep. viii., 6, "spirant, succina virgineâ quod regelata manu." Cf. v., Ep. xxxviii., 11. (Cf. ix., 50.)

"By whom a greasy almanac is borne,

With often handling, like chafed amber worn." Dryden.

<sup>4</sup> *Thrasyllus* was the astrologer under whom Tiberius studied the "Chaldean art" at Rhodes (Tac., Ann., vi., 20), and accompanied his patron to Rome. (Cf. Suet., Aug., 98.) Cf. Suet., Tib., 14, 62, and Calig., 19, for a curious prediction belied by Caligula.

suited to taking food, save that which Petosiris<sup>1</sup> has directed. If she be of moderate means, she will traverse the space on both sides of the pillars of the circus, and draw lots, and present her forehead and her hand to the fortune-teller that asks for the frequent palming. The rich will obtain answers from some soothsayer of Phrygia or India hired for the purpose, from some one skilled in the stars and heavens, or one advanced in years who expiates the public places which the lightning<sup>2</sup> has struck. The destiny of the plebeians is learnt in the circus, and at Tarquin's rampart.<sup>3</sup> She that has no long necklace of gold to display, inquires in front of the obelisks and the dolphin-columns,<sup>4</sup> whether she shall jilt the tapster and marry the old-clothes man.

Yet these, when circumstances so require, are ready to encounter the perils of childbirth, and endure all the irksome toils of nursing. But rarely does a gilded bed contain a woman lying-in: so potent are the arts and drugs of her that can insure barrenness, and for bribes kill men while yet un-

<sup>1</sup> *Petosiris*, another famous astrologer and physician. Plin., ii., 23; vii., 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Fulgura*. When a place was struck by lightning, a priest was sent for to purify it, a two-year old sheep was then sacrificed, and the ground, hence called *bidental*, fenced in.

<sup>3</sup> *Agger*. The mound to the east of Rome, thrown up by Tarquinius Superbus. Cf. viii., 43, "*ventoso conducta sub aggere textit.*" Hor., i., Sat., viii., 15, "*Aggere in aprico spatari.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Phalas*. The Circensian games were originally consecrated to Neptunus Equestris, or Consus. Hence the dolphins on the columns in the Circus Maximus. The circus was divided along the middle by the *Spina*, at each extremity of which stood three pillars (*metæ*) round which the chariots turned: along this spine were seven movable towers or obelisks, called from their oval form *ova*, or *phalæ*; one was taken down at the end of each course. There were four factions in the circus, Blue, Green (xi., 196), White, and Red, xii., 114; to which Domitian added the Golden and the Purple. Suet., Domit., 7. The egg was the badge of the Green faction (which was the general favorite), the dolphin of the Blue or sea party. For the form of these, see the Florentine gem in Milman's Horace, p. 3. Böttinger has a curious theory, that the four colors symbolize the four elements, the green being the earth. The circus was the resort of prostitutes (iii., 65) and itinerant fortune-tellers. (Hence "*fallax*," Hor., i., Sat., vi., 113.) Cf. Suet., Jul., 39, and Claud., 21.

born. Yet grieve not at this, poor wretch ! and with thine own hand give thy wife the potion, whatever it be : for did she choose to bear her leaping children in her womb, thou wouldst perchance become the sire of an Æthiop ; a blackamoor would soon be your sole heir, one whom you would not see of a morning.<sup>1</sup>

I say nothing of supposititious children, and all a husband's joys and fond hopes baffled at the dirty pools ;<sup>2</sup> and the Pontifices and Salii selected thence, who are to bear in their counterfeit persons the noble name of Scauri. Fortune, that delights in mischief, takes her stand by night and smiles upon the naked babes. All these she cherishes and fosters in her bosom : then proffers them to the houses of the great, and prepares in secret a rich sport for herself. These she dotes on :<sup>3</sup> on these she forces her favors ; and smiling, leads them on to advancement as her own foster-children.

One fellow offers a wife magical incantations. Another sells her love potions from Thessaly, to give her power to disturb her husband's intellects, and punish him with the indignity of the slipper. To these it is owing that you are reduced to dotage : hence comes that dizziness of brain, that strange forgetfulness of things that you have but just now

<sup>1</sup> *Mane*. "The first thing seen" in the morning was a most important omen of the good or bad luck of the whole day. This is well turned by Hodgson :

"The sooty embryo, had he sprung to light,  
Had heir'd thy will and petrified thy sight ;  
Each morn with horror hadst thou turn'd away,  
Lest the dark omen should o'ercloud the day."

<sup>2</sup> *Spurcos lacus*. Infants were exposed by the Milk-pillar in the Herb-market : the low ground on which this stood, at the base of Aventine, Palatine, and Capitoline, was often flooded and covered with stagnant pools. "Hoc ubi nunc fora sunt udætenuere paludes," Ov., *Fast.*, vi., 401. The "Velabri regio" of Tibull., ii., v., 33.

"The beggars' bantlings spawn'd in open air,  
And left by some pond-side to perish there ;  
From hence your Flamens, hence your Salii come,  
Your Scauri chiefs and magistrates of Rome." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Mimum*. Cf. iii., 40, "Quoties voluî Fortuna jocari."



done. Yet even this is endurable, if you do not go raving mad as well, like that uncle of Nero for whom his *Cæsonia* infused the whole forehead of a foal new dropped. Who will not follow where the empress leads? All things were wrapped in flames and with joints disrupted were tottering to their fall, exactly as if Juno had driven her spouse to madness. Therefore the mushroom<sup>1</sup> of Agrippina had far less of guilt: since that stopped the breath but of a single old man, and bade his trembling head descend to heaven,<sup>2</sup> and his lips that slavered with dribbling saliva. Whereas this potion of *Cæsonia*<sup>3</sup> calls aloud for fire and sword and tortures, and mangles in one bloody mass both senators and knights. So potent is a mare's offspring! Such mighty ruin can one sorceress work!

Women hate their husbands' spurious issue. No one would object or forbid that. But now it is thought allowable to kill even their husbands' sons by a former marriage.

Take my warning, ye that are under age and have a large estate, keep watch over your lives! trust not a single dish! The rich meats steam, livid with poison of your mother's mixing. Let some one take a bite before you of whatever she that bore you hands you; let your pedagogue, in terror of his life, be taster of your cups.

All this is our invention? and Satire is borrowing the tragic buskin, forsooth; and transgressing the limits prescribed by those who trod the path before us, we are wildly

<sup>1</sup> *Boletus*. Cf. v., 147. Nero used to call mushrooms "the food of the gods" after this. Cf. Suet., Nero, 33. Tac., Ann., xii., 66, 7. Mart., i., Ep. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> "That only closed the driveling dotard's eyes,

And sent his godhead downward to the skies." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Cæsonia*. Cf. Suet., Calig., 50, "Creditor potionatus a Cæsonia uxore, amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit."

declaiming in the deep-mouthed tones of Sophocles<sup>1</sup> a strain of awful grandeur, unknown to Rutulian hills and Latin sky. Would that it were but fable ! But Pontia<sup>2</sup> with loud voice exclaimed, "I did the deed. I avow it ! and prepared for my own children the aconite, which bears palpable evidence against me. Still<sup>3</sup> the act was mine !" "What, cruelest of vipers ! didst thou kill two at one meal ! Two, didst thou slay ?" "Ay, seven, had there haply been seven !"

Then let us believe to be true all that tragedians say of the fierce Colchian or of Progne. I attempt not to gainsay it. Yet they perpetrated atrocities that were monstrous even in their days—but not for the sake of money. Less amazement is excited even by the greatest enormities, whenever rage incites this sex to crime, and with fury burning up their very liver, they are carried away headlong ; like rocks torn away from cliffs, from which the mountain-height is reft away, and the side recedes from the impending mass.

I can not endure the woman that makes her calculations, and in cold blood perpetrates a heinous crime. They sit and see Alcestis<sup>4</sup> on the stage encountering death for her husband, and were a similar exchange allowed to them, would gladly purchase a lap-dog's life by the sacrifice of their husband's ! You will meet any morning with Danaïdes and Eriphylæ in plenty ; not a street but will possess its Clytæm-

<sup>1</sup> *Grande Sophocleo.*

"Are these then fictions ? and would satire's rage Sweep in Iambic pomp the tragic stage With stately Sophocles, and sing of deeds Strange to Rutulian skies and Latian meads ?" Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Pontia*, daughter of Titus Pontius, and wife of Drymis, poisoned her two children, and afterward committed suicide. The fact was duly inscribed on her tomb. Cf. Mart., vi., Ep. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Tamen.* Heinrich proposes to read "tantum."

<sup>4</sup> *Alcestim.*

"Alcestis, lo ! in love's calm courage flies. To yonder tomb where, else, Admetus dies, While those that view the scene, a lapdog's breath Would cheaply purchase by a husband's death." Badham.

nestra. This is the only difference, that that famed daughter of Tyndarus grasped in both hands a bungling, senseless axe.<sup>1</sup> But now the business is dispatched with the insinuating venom of a toad. But yet with the steel too; if her Atrides has been cautious enough to fortify himself with the Pontic antidotes of the thrice-conquered<sup>2</sup> king.

## SATIRE VII.

### ARGUMENT.

THIS Satire contains an animated account of the general discouragement under which literature labored at Rome. Beginning with poetry, it proceeds through the various departments of history, law, oratory, rhetoric, and grammar; interspersing many curious anecdotes, and enlivening each different head with such satirical, humorous, and sentimental remarks as naturally flow from the subject.

ALL our hope and inducement to study<sup>3</sup> rests on Cæsar<sup>4</sup> alone. For he alone casts a favoring eye<sup>5</sup> on the Muses, who in our days are in a forlorn state. When poets, now become famous and men of renown, would fain try and hire a little bath at Gabii, or a public oven at Rome. While others,

<sup>1</sup> *Insulsum*.

"But here the difference lies—those bungling wives  
With a blunt axe hack'd out their husbands' lives." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Ter victi*, by Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey. Cf. xiv., 452, "*Emequod Mithridates Composuit si vis aliam decerpere ficum, Atque alias tractare rosas.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Ratio studiorum*. Cf. Tac., Ann., xi., 7, "*Sublatis studiorum pretiis etiam studia peritura.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Cæsare*. Which Cæsar is intended is a matter of discussion among the commentators; whether Nero, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Nerva, or Domitian. Probably the last is meant; as in the beginning of his reign he affected the character of a patron of literature.

<sup>5</sup> *Respexit*. "To view with favor or pity," as a deity: so Virg., Ecl., i., 28, "*Libertas, quæ sera tamen respexit inertem.*"

again, would esteem it neither shocking nor degrading to turn public criers ; since Clio herself, if starving, would quit the vales of Aganippe, and emigrate to courts.<sup>1</sup> For if not a single farthing is offered you in the Pierian shades, be content with the name and calling of Machæra :<sup>2</sup> and sooner sell what the auction duly set<sup>3</sup> sells to those that stand around ; wine-flagons, trivets, book-cases, chests ; the “ Alcyone ” of Paccius, or the “ Thebes ” and “ Tereus ” of Faustus. This is preferable to asserting before the judge that you are a witness of what you never did see.<sup>4</sup> Even though Asiatic,<sup>5</sup> and Cappadocian, and Bithynian knights stoop to this : fellows whom Gallo-Græcia transports hither with chalked feet.<sup>6</sup> Hereafter, however, no one will be compelled to submit to an employment derogatory to his studies, who unites loftiness of expression to tuneful numbers, and has chewed the bay.<sup>7</sup> Set vigorously to work then, young men ! The kindness<sup>8</sup> of the emperor is looking all around, and stimulates your exertions, while he is seeking worthy objects of his pat-

<sup>1</sup> *Atria*. Either “ the antechambers of rich patrons,” or to “ the Licinian and other courts,” near the forum, where auctions were held ; the *atria auctionaria* of Cicero : cf. pro Quint., 12, 25, i. in Rull., 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Machæra*, a famous *Præco* of his time. Lubin.

<sup>3</sup> *Commissa*. Either from the goods being “ intrusted ” to the auctioneer by the owner or the magistrate ; or from the parties that bid being as it were “ pitted,” *commissi*, against each other, like gladiators.

<sup>4</sup> *Vidi*. So xvi., 29, “ Audeat ille Nescio quis, pugnos qui vidit, dicere vidi.”

<sup>5</sup> *Asiani*. “ Jam equites, olim servi Asiatici.” Lub. The next line is in all probability interpolated, being only a gloss. Heinrich.

<sup>6</sup> *Nudo talo*. Vid. ad i., 111. Or, it may be “ barefooted ” simply. Galatia in Asia Minor, so called from the colony of Gauls who settled there, A.D. 278, at the invitation of Nicomedes. Liv., xxxviii., 16. Cf. Paus., Phoc., xxiii. Cramer’s Asia Minor, ii., 79. Clinton, Fast. Hell. in an.

“ Sent from Bithynia’s realms with shoeless feet.” Badham.

<sup>7</sup> *Laurumque momordit*. So *δαφνηφάγοι*. The chewing of the bay, as being sacred to Apollo, was supposed to convey divine inspiration. Grang. Cf. Lycoph., 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Indulgentia*. “ Lo ! the imperial eye

Looks round attentive on each rising bard,

For worth to praise, for genius to reward.” Gifford.

ronage. If you think that from any other quarter you may look for encouragement in your pursuits, and with that view fill the parchment of your yellow<sup>1</sup> tablet; call with all speed for a fagot, and make a present of all your compositions, Telesinus, to Venus' husband:<sup>2</sup> or lock them up, and let the bookworm<sup>3</sup> bore them through as they lie stowed away. Destroy your pens, poor wretch! Blot out your battles that have lost you your nights' rest, you that write sublime poetry in your narrow garret,<sup>4</sup> that you may come forth worthy of an ivy-crown and meagre image. You have nothing farther to hope for. The stingy patron of our days has learned only to admire and praise the eloquent as boys do Juno's peacock.<sup>5</sup> But your prime of life is ebbing away; that is able to bear the fatigue of the sea, the helmet, or the spade. Then weariness creeps over the spirits: and an old age, that is indeed learned but in rags,<sup>6</sup> curses itself and the Muses that it courted. Now learn the devices of the great man you pay court to, to avoid laying out any money upon you: quitting the temple of the Muses, and Apollo, he composes verses himself, and only yields the palm to Homer himself on the score of his priority by a thousand years. But if inflamed by the charms of fame you recite your poetry,

<sup>1</sup> *Croceæ*. Because parchment is always yellow on the side where the hair grew. Others think the parchment itself was dyed yellow. Cf. Pers., iii., 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Veneris marito*, a burlesque phrase for "the fire."

<sup>3</sup> *Tinea*. Cf. Hor., Ep., I., xx., 12, "*Tineas pasces taciturnus intertes*."

<sup>4</sup> *Cellâ*. So Ben Johnson:

"I that spend half my nights and half my days  
Here in a cell, to get a dark pale face,  
To come forth worth the ivy or the bays,  
And in this age can hope no other grace."

<sup>5</sup> *Junonis avem*.

"To praise and *only* praise the high-wrought strain,  
As boys the bird of Juno's glittering train." Gifford.

<sup>6</sup> *Facunda et unda*.

"Till gray-haired, helpless, humbled genius see  
Its fault too late, and curse Terpsichore." Badham.

he kindly lends you a dirty mansion, and places at your service one that has been long barred up, whose front gate emulates those of a city in a state of siege. He knows how to place his freedmen in seats at the farther end of the audience, and how to arrange his clients who are to cheer you lustily.<sup>1</sup> None of these great lords will give you as much as would pay for the benches,<sup>2</sup> or the seats that rise one above another on the platform you have to hire; or your orchestra of chairs, which must be returned when your recitation is over. Yet still we ply our tasks, and draw furrows in the profitless dust, and keep turning up the sea-shore with sterile plow. For even if you try to abandon the pursuit, the long habit<sup>3</sup> of indulging in this vain-glorious trifling,<sup>4</sup> holds you fast in its fetters. An inveterate itch of writing, now incurable, clings to many, and grows old in their distempered body. But the poet that is above his fellows, whose vein is not that of the common herd; that is wont to spin out no

<sup>1</sup> *Comitum voces.* Cf. xiii., 32, "Vocalis sportula."

<sup>2</sup> *Anabathra*, the seats rising one above another in the form of a theatre. *Subsellia*, those in the body of the room. *Orchestra*, the hired chairs in front of all, for his knightly guests. Holyday quaintly says no patron cared

"What the orchestra cost raised for chief friends,  
And chairs recarried when the reading ends."

<sup>3</sup> *Laqueo.* "And would we quit at length th' ambitious ill,  
The noose of habit implicates us still." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Vatem egregium.* Cf. Hor., i., Sat. iv., 43, "Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divini, atque os magna sonaturum, des nominis hujus honorem." How immeasurably finer the two is Juvenal's description of a poet!

"But he, the bard of every age and clime,  
Of genius fruitful, and of soul sublime,  
Who from the glowing mint of fancy pours  
No spurious metal, fused from common ores,  
But gold to matchless purity refined,  
And stamp'd with all the godhead in his mind:  
He whom I feel, but want the power to paint,  
Must boast a soul impatient of restraint,  
And free from every care—a soul that loves

The Muses' haunts, clear springs and shady groves." Gifford.

Of this passage, Hodgson says, Gifford has drawn the prize in the lottery of translation, all others must be blanks after it.



stale or vulgar subject, and stamps no hackneyed verse from a die that all may use ; such an one as I can not embody in words, and can only feel in my soul, is the offspring of a mind free from solicitude, exempt from all that can embitter life, that courts the quiet of the woods, and loves to drink the fountains of the Aonides. Nor can it be that poverty should sing in the Pierian cave, or handle the thyrsus, if forced to sobriety, and lacking that vile pelf the body needs both day and night. Well plied with food and wine is Horace when *he* shouts out his *Evœ* !<sup>1</sup> What scope is there for fancy, save when our breasts are harassed by no thoughts but verse alone ; and are hurried along<sup>2</sup> under the influence of the lords of Cirrha and Nysa, admitting of no divided<sup>3</sup> solicitude. It is the privilege of an exalted soul, and not of one bewildered how to get enough to buy a blanket, to gaze on chariots and horses and the forms of divinities, and in what dread shapes *Erinnys*<sup>4</sup> appals the Rutulian. For had Virgil lacked a slave and comfortable lodging, all the serpents would have vanished from *Alecto*'s hair : his trumpet, starved to silence, would have blazed no note of terror. Is it fair to expect that *Rubrenus Lappa* should not fall short of the buskin of the ancients, while his *Atreus*<sup>5</sup> forces him to pawn his very sauceboats and his cloak ?

<sup>1</sup> *Evœ!* Vid, Hor., ii., Od. xix., 5. Cf. Milman's Life.

<sup>2</sup> *Feruntur.*

"Be hurried with resistless force along  
By the two kindred powers of wine and song." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Duas.* "Nor wrestlings with the world will Genius own,  
Destined to strive with song, and song alone." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Erinnys.* The splendid passage in the seventh *Æneid*, 445, *seq.*, "Talibus *Alecto* dictis exarsit in iras. At juveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus: Deriguere oculi: tot *Erinnys* sibilat hydris, Tantaque se facies aperit." Cf. *Æn.*, ii., 602, *seq.*; xii., 326.

<sup>5</sup> *Atreus.* Some take *Atreus* to be the person who lends the money. *Grangæus* interprets it, "Qui dum componit tragædiam de *Atreo*, ut vitam sustentare possit pignori opponit alveolos."

"Who writes his *Atreus*, as his friends allege,  
With half his household goods and cloak in pledge." Badham.

Poor Numitor is so unfortunate as to have nothing he can afford to send his protégé! Yet he can find something to give Quintilla—he managed to pay for a tame lion, that must have pounds of flesh to feed him. No doubt the huge beast is kept at far less expense; and a poet's stomach is far more capacious! Let Lucan recline at his ease in his gardens among his marble statues, satisfied with fame alone. But to poor Serranus, and starving Saleius, of what avail will glory be, however great, if it be glory only? All flock in crowds to hear his sweet voice, and the tuneful strains of the Thebais, when Statius<sup>1</sup> has gladdened the city, and fixed the day for reciting it. So great is the charm with which he captivates their souls; such the eager delight with which he is listened to by the multitude. But when the very benches are broken down by the ecstasies with which his verses are applauded, he may starve, unless he sells<sup>2</sup> his unpublished “Agave”<sup>3</sup> to Paris. It is he that bestows on many the honors due to military service, and encircles the fingers of poets with the ring that marks their six months' command.<sup>4</sup> What nobles will not give, a player will! And

<sup>1</sup> *Statius* employed twelve years upon his *Thebais*. (Cf. xii., 811.) It was not completed till *after* the Dacian war, but was written *before* the 1st book of the *Silvæ*, the date of the 4th book of which is known to be A.D. 95. We may therefore assume the date of the *Thebais* to be about 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Vendat*. Holyday quotes from Brodæus the price given to Terence for his *Eunuchus*, viz., eight sesteria, about sixty-five pounds.

<sup>3</sup> *Agave*. Probably a pantomimic ballet on a tragic subject; for, as Heinrich says, what had Paris, the mime, to do with a *new tragedy*? These and the following lines are said to have been the cause of Juvenal's banishment.

<sup>4</sup> *Semestri* is said to refer to an honorary military commission, conferred on favorites, even though not in the army, and called “*Semestris tribunatus militum*.” It lasted for six months only, but conferred the privilege of wearing the equestrian ring, with perhaps others. It is alluded to in Pliny, iv., Epist. 4, who begs of Sossius the consul in behalf of a friend, “*Hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem facias*.” There are divers other interpretations, but this appears the simplest and most probable. To confound it with the “*astivum aurum*” (i., 28), is a palpable absurdity.

dost thou, then, still pay court to the Camerini and Bareæ, and the spacious halls of nobles? It is "Pelopea" that makes prefects, "Philomela" tribunes. Yet envy not the bard whom the stage maintains. Who is your Mæcnas now, or Proculeius, or Fabius? Who will act Cotta's part again, or be a second Lentulus? In those days talent had its meet reward: then it was profitable to many to become pale, and abstain from wine<sup>1</sup> the whole of December.

Your toil, forsooth, ye writers of histories! is more profitable, it requires more time and more oil. For regardless of all limit, it rises to the thousandth page; and grows in bulk, expensive from the mass of paper used. This the vast press of matter requires, and the laws of composition. Yet what is the crop that springs from it? what the profit from the soil upturned? Who will give an historian as much as he would a notary?<sup>2</sup> "But they are an idle race, that delight in sofas and the cool shade." Well, tell me then, what do the services rendered their fellow-citizens, and their briefs they carry about with them in a big bundle, bring in to the lawyers? Even of themselves they talk grandly enough, but especially when their creditor is one of their hearers; or if one still more pressing nudges their side, that comes with his great account-book to sue for a doubtful debt. Then the hollow bellows of their lungs breathe forth amazing lies; they foam at the mouth till their breast is covered. But if you like to calculate the actual harvest they reap, set in one scale the estate of a

<sup>1</sup> *Vinum nescire*. Cf. Hor., ii., Sat. iii., 5, "At ipsis Saturnalibus huc fugisti Sobrius." Stat., Sylv., I., vi., 4, "Saturnus mihi compe exsolutâ, et multo gravidus mero December."

"Then all December's revelries refuse,

And give the festive moments to the Muse." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta legenti*. Either the "notary public," or "keeper of the public records," or the historian's reader, who collected facts for the author, or "any one who read aloud the history itself."

hundred lawyers, and you may balance it on the other side with the single fortune of Lacerna, the charioteer of the Red.<sup>1</sup>

The chiefs have taken their seats!<sup>2</sup> You, like Ajax, rise with pallid cheek, and plead in behalf of liberty that has been called in question, before a neat-herd<sup>3</sup> for a juryman! Burst your strained lungs, poor wretch! that, when exhausted, the green palm-branches<sup>4</sup> may be affixed to crown your staircase with honor! Yet what is the reward of your eloquence? A rusty ham, or a dish of sprats; or some shriveled onions, the monthly provender of the Africans;<sup>5</sup> or wine brought down the Tiber. Five bottles<sup>6</sup> for pleading four times! If you have been lucky enough to get a single gold piece<sup>7</sup>, even from that you must deduct the stipulated shares of the attorneys.<sup>8</sup> Æmilius will get as much as the law

<sup>1</sup> *Russati*. Cf. ad vi., 589. So the charioteer of "the white" was called Albatrus. Lacerna, or Lacerta, was a charioteer in the reign of Domitian, some say of Domitian himself. One commentator takes Lacerna to be "any soldier wearing a red cloak;" as Paludatus is "one wearing the general's cloak." Cf. Mart., xiii., Ep. 78, "Prasinus Porphyrio."

<sup>2</sup> *Consedere*. Cf. Ov., Met., xiii., 1, "Consedere duces; et, vulgite stante corona, Surgit ad hos clypei dominus septemplex Ajax," Cf. ad xi., 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Bubulco*. "Before some clod-pate judge thy vitals strain." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Palmæ*. Cf. ad ix., 85.

"So shall the verdant palm be duly tied  
To the dark staircase where such powers reside." Badham.

<sup>5</sup> *Afrorum Epimenia*. Most probably alluding to the "monthly rations of onions" allowed to African slaves, who were accustomed to plenty of them in their own country (cf. Herod., ii., 125. Numb., xi., 5), where they grew in great abundance. Martial, ix., Ep. xlv., 11, enumerates "bulbi" among the presents sent at the Saturnalia to the caudidicus Sabellus.

<sup>6</sup> *Lagenæ*. Mart., u. s. "Five jars of meagre down-the-Tiber wine." Badham.

<sup>7</sup> *Aureus*. About sixteen shillings English at this time.

<sup>8</sup> *Pragmaticorum*. Cicero describes their occupation, de Orat., i., 45, "Ut apud Græcos infimi homines, mercedula adducti, ministros se præbent judiciis oratoribus ii qui apud illos πραγματικοί vocantur." Cf. c. 59. Quintil., iii., 6; xii., 3. Mart., xii., Ep. 72. They appear afterward to have been introduced at Rome, and are sometimes called "Tabelliones."

allows;<sup>1</sup> although we pleaded better than he. For he has in his court-yard a chariot of bronze with four tall horses<sup>2</sup> yoked to it; and he himself, seated on his fierce charger, brandishes aloft his bending spear, and meditates battle with his one eye closed. So it is that Pedo gets involved, Matho fails. This is the end of Tongillus, who usually bathes with a huge rhinoceros' horn of oil, and annoys the baths with his draggled train; and weighs heavily in his ponderous sedan on his sturdy Median slaves, as he presses through the forum to bid for<sup>3</sup> slaves, and plate, and myrrhine vases, and villas. For it is his foreign<sup>4</sup> purple with its Tyrian tissue that gets him credit. And yet this answers their purpose. It is the purple robe that gets the lawyer custom—his violet cloaks that attract clients. It suits their interest to live with all the bustle and outward show of an income greater than they really have. But prodigal Rome observes no bounds to her extravagance. If the old orators were to come to life again, no one now would give even Cicero him-

<sup>1</sup> *Licet*. The *Lex Cincia de Muneribus*, as amended by Augustus, forbade the receipt of any fees. A law of Nero fixed the fee at 100 aurei at most. Vid. Tac., *Ann.*, xi., 5 (Ruperti's note). Suet., *Ner.*, 17. Plin., v., Ep. iv., 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Quadrijuges*. It appears to have been an extraordinary fancy with lawyers of this age to be represented in this manner; cf. Mart., ix., Ep. lxix., 5, *seq.*; but the details of the picture have puzzled the commentators. "Curvatum" is supposed to mean that "the spear actually seems quivering in his hand," or that it is "bent with age," or that the *arm* is "bent back," as if in the act of throwing. Cf. Xen., *Anab.*, V., ii., 12, *διηγνυλωμένους*. "*Luscâ*" may imply that the statue imitated to the life the personal defect of Æmilius; or simply the absence of the pupil (*ομμάτων ἀχηνία*), inseparable from statuary; or that Æmilius is represented as closing one eye to take better aim.

"Lifts his poised javelin o'er the crowd below,

And from his blinking statue threatens the blow." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mart., ix., Ep. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Stlataria*. *Stlata* is said to be an old form of *lata*, as *stlis* for *lis*, *stlocus* for *locus*. Therefore *Stlataria* is the same as the "*Latus Clavus*," according to some commentators; or a "broad-beamed" merchant ship; and therefore means simply "imported." Others say it is a "piratical ship," such as the Illyrians used, and the word is then taken to imply "deceitful." Facciolati explains it by "*peregrina et pretiosa: longè navi advecta*."

self two hundred sesterces, unless a huge ring sparkled on his finger. This is the first point he that goes to law looks to—whether you have eight slaves, ten attendants, a sedan to follow you, and friends in toga to go before. Paulus, consequently, used to plead in a sardonix, hired for the occasion : and hence it was that Cossus' fees were higher than those of Basilus. Eloquence is a rare quality in a threadbare coat !

When is Basilus allowed to produce in court a weeping mother ? Who could endure Basilus, however well he were to plead ? Let Gaul become your home, or better still that foster-nurse of pleaders, Africa, if you are determined to let your tongue for hire.

Do you teach declamation ? Oh what a heart of steel must Vectius have, when his numerous class kills cruel tyrants ! For all that the boy has just conned over at his seat, he will then stand up and spout—the same stale theme in the same sing-song. It is the reproduction of the cabbage<sup>1</sup> that wears out the master's life. What is the plea to be urged : what the character of the cause ; where the main point of the case hinges ; what shafts may issue from the opposing party ;—this all are anxious to know ; but not one is anxious to pay ! “*Pay* do you ask for ? why, what do I know ?” The blame, forsooth, is laid at the teacher's door, because there is not a spark of energy in the breast of this scion of Arcadia,<sup>2</sup> who dins his awful Hannibal into my ears regularly every sixth day. Whatever the theme be that is to be the subject of his

<sup>1</sup> *Crambe*. The old Schol. quotes a proverb—*δὲς κράμβη θάνατος*, Grangæus another, which forcibly expresses a schoolmaster's drudgery—*οἱ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀντά*.

“Till, like hash'd cabbage, served for each repast,

The repetition kills the wretch at last.” Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> Arcadia was celebrated for its breed of asses. Cf. Pers., Sat. iii., “*Arcadiæ pecuaria rudere credas*.” Auson., Epigr. 76, “*Asinos quoque rudere dicas, cum vis Arcadium fingere, Marce, pecus*.”



deliberation ; whether he shall march at once from Cannæ on Rome ; or whether, rendered circumspect after the storms and thunderbolts, he shall lead his cohorts, drenched with the tempest, by a circuitous route. Bargain<sup>1</sup> for any sum you please, and I will at once place it in your hands, on condition that his father should hear him his lesson as often as I have to do it ! But six or more sophists are all giving tongue at once ; and, debating in good earnest, have abandoned all fictitious declamations about the ravisher. No more is heard of the poison infused, or the vile ungrateful husband,<sup>2</sup> or the drugs that can restore the aged blind to youth. He therefore that quits the shadowy conflicts of rhetoric for the arena of real debate, will superannuate himself, if my advice has any weight with him, and enter on a different path of life ; that he may not lose even the paltry sum that will purchase the miserable ticket<sup>3</sup> for corn. Since this is the most splendid reward you can expect. Just inquire what Chrysogonus receives, or Pollio, for teaching the sons of these fine gentlemen, and going into all the details<sup>4</sup> of Theodorus' treatise.

<sup>1</sup> *Stipulare*. "Get me his father but to hear his task  
For one short week, I'll give you all you ask." Bad.

<sup>2</sup> *Mauritus*. "The faithless husband and abandon'd wife,  
And Æson coddled to new light and life." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Tessera*. The poorer Romans received every month tickets, which appear to have been transferable, entitling them to a certain quantity of corn from the public granaries. These tesserae or symbola were made, Lubinus says, of wood or lead, and distributed by the "*Frumentorum Curatores*." In the latter days, bread thus distributed was called "*Panis Gradilis*," quia gradibus distribuebatur. The Congiarium consisted of wine, or oil only. The Donativum was only given to soldiers. Several of these tickets of wood and lead are preserved in the museum at Portici.

<sup>4</sup> *Scindens*. "Præcepta ejus artis minutatim dividens." Lubin. On the principle perhaps, that "*Qui benè dividit benè docet*." Britannicus, whom Heinrich follows, explains it by "*deridet*." Theodorus of Gadara was a professor of rhetoric in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Vid. Suet., Tib., 57. It was he who so well described the character of the latter ; calling him *πῆλον αἵματι πεφύρμενον*. Chrysogonus, in vi., 74, is a singer, and Pollio, vi., 387, a musician (cf.

The baths will cost six hundred sestertia, and the colonnade still more, in which the great man rides whenever it rains. Is he to wait, forsooth, for fair weather? or bespatter his horses with fresh mud? Nay, far better here! for here the mule's hoof shines unsullied.<sup>1</sup> On the other side must rise a spacious dining-room, supported on stately columns of Numidian marble, and catch the cool<sup>2</sup> sun. However much the house may have cost, he will have besides an artiste who can arrange his table scientifically; another, who can season made-dishes. Yet amid all this lavish expenditure, two poor sestertia will be deemed an ample remuneration for Quintilian. Nothing will cost a father less than his son's education.

"Then where did Quintilian get the money to pay for so many estates?" Pass by the instances of good fortune that are but rare indeed. It is good *luck* that makes a man handsome and active; good luck that makes him wise, and noble, and well-bred, and attaches the crescent<sup>3</sup> of the senator to his black shoe. Good luck too that makes him the best of orators and debaters, and, though he has a vile cold, sing

Mart., iv., Ep. lxi., 9); but, as Lubinus says, the persons mentioned here are professors of rhetoric, and probably therefore not the same.

<sup>1</sup> *Mundæ*.

"He splash his fav'rite mule in filthy roads!

With ample space at his command, to tire

The well-groom'd beast, with hoof unstain'd by mire." Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Argentem*. They had dining-rooms facing different quarters, according to the season of the year, with a southern aspect for the winter, and an eastern for the summer. Cf. Plin., ii., Ep. 17. *Rapiat* rather seems to imply the former case. So Badham—

"Courts the brief radiance of the winter's noon."

"*Argentem*" favors the other view—

"Front the cool east, when now the averted sun

Through the mid ardors of his course has run." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Lunam*. Senators wore *black* shoes of tanned leather: they were a kind of short boot reaching to the middle of the leg (hence, "*Nigris medium impediit crus pellibus*," Hor., I., Sat. vi., 27), with a crescent or the letter C in front, because the original number of senators was a hundred—*Aluta*, "steeped in alum," to soften the skin.

well ! For it makes all the difference what planets welcome you when you first begin to utter your infant cry, and are still red from your mother. If fortune so wills it, you will become consul instead of rhetorician ; or, if she will, instead of rhetorician, consul ! What was Ventidius<sup>1</sup> or Tullius aught else than a lucky planet, and the strange potency of hidden fate ? Fate, that gives kingdoms to slaves, and triumphs to captives. Yes ! Quintilian was indeed lucky, but he is a greater rarity even than a white crow. But many a man has repented of this fruitless and barren employment, as the sad end of Thrasy-machus<sup>2</sup> proves, and that of Secundus Carrinas.<sup>3</sup> And you, too, Athens, were witness to the poverty of him on whom you had the heart to bestow nothing save the hemlock that chilled<sup>4</sup> his life-blood !

Light be the earth, ye gods !<sup>5</sup> and void of weight, that presses on our grandsires' shades, and round their urn bloom fragrant crocus and eternal spring, who maintained that a tutor should hold the place and honor of a revered parent. Achilles sang on his paternal hills, in terror of the lash, though

<sup>1</sup> *Ventidius Bassus*, son of a slave ; first a carman, then a muleteer ; afterward made in one year prætor and consul. Being appointed to command against the Parthians, he was allowed a triumph ; having been himself, in his youth, led as a captive in the triumphal procession of Pompey's father. Cf. Val. Max., vi., 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Thrasy-machus* of Chalcedon, the pupil of Plato and Isocrates, wrote a treatise on Rhetoric, and set up as a teacher of it at Athens ; but, meeting with no encouragement, shut up his school and hanged himself.

<sup>3</sup> *Secundus Carrinas* is said to have been driven by poverty from Athens to Rome ; and was banished by Caligula for a declamation against tyrants. He is mentioned, Tac., Ann., xv., 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Gelidas*. "Cicutæ refrigeratoria vis : quos enecat incipiunt algere ab extremitatibus corporis." Plin., xxv., 13. Plat., Phædo, fin. Pers., iv., 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Dii Majorum*, etc.

"Shades of our sires ! O sacred be your rest,  
And lightly lie the turf upon your breast ;  
Flowers round your urns breathe sweets beyond compare,  
And spring eternal bloom and flourish there !  
Your honor'd tutors, now a slighted race,  
And gave them all a parent's power and place !" Gifford.

now grown up; and yet in whom even then would not the tail of his master, the harper, provoke a smile? But now Rufus<sup>1</sup> and others are beaten each by their own pupils; Rufus! who so often called Cicero "the Allobrogian!" Who casts into Enceladus<sup>2</sup> lap, or that of the learned Palæmon,<sup>3</sup> as much as their grammarian labors have merited! And yet even from the wretched sum, however small (and it is smaller than the rhetorician's pay), Acænonoëtus, his pupil's pedagogue, first takes his slice; and then the steward who pays you deducts his fragment. Dispute it not, Palæmon! and suffer some abatement to be made, just as the peddler does that deals in winter rugs and snow-white sheetings.<sup>4</sup> Only let not all be lost,<sup>5</sup> for which you have sat from the midnight hour, when no smith would sit, nor even he that teaches how to draw out wool with the oblique iron. Lose not your whole reward for having smelled as many lamps as there were boys standing round you; while Horace was altogether discolored, and the foul smut clave to the well-thumbed Maro. Yet rare too is the pay that does not require enforcing by the Tribune's court.<sup>6</sup>

But do you, parents, impose severe exactions on him that is to teach your boys; that he be perfect in the rules of grammar for each word—read all histories<sup>7</sup>—know all authors

<sup>1</sup> *Rufus*, according to the old Schol., was a native of Gaul. Grangæus calls him Q. Curtius Rufus, and says nothing more is known of him than that he was an eminent rhetorician. He is here represented as charging Cicero with barbarisms or provincialisms, such as a Savoyard would use.

<sup>2</sup> *Enceladus*. Nothing is known of him.

<sup>3</sup> *Palæmon*. Vid. ad vi., 451.

<sup>4</sup> *Cadurci*. Cf. vi., 537.

<sup>5</sup> *Non pereat*.

"Yes, suffer this! while something's left to pay  
Your rising, hours before the dawn of day;  
When e'en the lab'ring poor their slumbers take,  
And not a weaver, not a smith's awake." Gifford.

<sup>6</sup> *Cognitione Tribuni*. Not a tribune of the people, but one of the Tribuni Ærarii, to whom the cognizance of such complaints belonged.

<sup>7</sup> *Historias*. Tiberius was exceedingly fond of propounding to

as well as his own finger-ends ; that if questioned at hazard, while on his way to the Thermæ or the baths of Phœbus, he should be able to tell the name of Anchises' nurse<sup>1</sup>, and the name and native land of the step-mother of Anchemolus—tell off-hand how many years Acestes lived—how many flagons of wine the Sicilian king gave to the Phrygians. Require of him that he mould their youthful morals as one models a face in wax. Require of him that he be the reverend father of the company, and check every approach to immorality.

It is no light task to keep watch over so many boyish hands, so many little twinkling eyes. "This," says the father, "be the object of your care!"—and when the year comes round again, Receive for your pay as much gold<sup>2</sup> as the people demand for the victorious Charioteer !

grammarians, a class of men whom he particularly affected (*quod genus hominum præcipuè appetebat*), questions of this nature, to sound their "*notitia historiæ usque ad ineptias atque derisum*." Cf. Suet., Tib., 70, 57.

<sup>1</sup> *Nutricem*. The names of these two persons are said to have been Casperia and Tisiphone.

<sup>2</sup> *Aurum*. I.e., 5 aurei, the highest reward allowed to be given. The aureus, which varied in value, was at this time worth 25 denarii ; a little more than 16 shillings English. Cf. Mart., x., Ep. lxxiv., 5.

## SATIRE VIII.

## ARGUMENT.

JUVENAL demonstrates, in this Satire, that distinction is merely personal; that though we may derive rank and titles from our ancestors, yet if we degenerate from the virtues by which they obtained them, we can not be considered truly noble. This is the main object of the Satire; which, however, branches out into many collateral topics—the profligacy of the young nobility; the miserable state of the provinces, which they plundered and harassed without mercy; the contrast between the state of debasement to which the descendants of the best families had sunk, and the opposite virtues to be found in persons of the lowest station and humblest descent.

WHAT is the use of pedigrees?<sup>1</sup> What boots it, Ponticus, to be accounted of an ancient line, and to display the painted faces<sup>2</sup> of your ancestors, and the Æmiliani standing in their cars, and the Curii diminished to one half their bulk, and Corvinus deficient of a shoulder, and Galba that has lost his ears and nose<sup>3</sup>—what profit is it to vaunt in your capacious genealogy of Corvinus, and in many a collateral line<sup>4</sup> to trace dictators and masters of the horse begrimed with smoke, if before the very faces of the Lepidi you lead an evil life! To what purpose are the images of so many warriors, if the dice-box rattles all night long in the presence of the Numantini:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Stemmata*. “The lines connecting the descents in a pedigree,” from the garlands of flowers round the Imagines set up in the halls (v., 19) and porticoes (vi., 163) of the nobles; which were joined to one another by festoons, so that the descent from father to son could be readily traced. Cf. Pers., iii., 28. “*Stemmata quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis.*” Of Ponticus nothing is known.

<sup>2</sup> *Vultus*. Because these Imagines were simply busts made of wax, colored.

<sup>3</sup> *Virgâ*.

“What boots it on the lineal tree to trace

Through many a branch the founders of our race.” Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Numantinos*. Scipio Africanus the Younger got the name of Numantinus from Numantia, which he destroyed as well as Carthage.



if you retire to rest at the rising of that star<sup>1</sup> at whose dawning those generals set their standards and camps in motion? Why does Fabius<sup>2</sup> plume himself on the Allobrogici and the "Great Altar," as one born in Hercules' own household, if he is covetous, empty-headed, and ever so much more effeminate than the soft lamb of Euganea.<sup>3</sup> If with tender limbs made sleek by the pumice<sup>4</sup> of Catana he shames his rugged sires, and, a purchaser of poison, disgraces his dishonored race by his image that ought to be broken up.<sup>5</sup>

Though your long line of ancient statues adorn your ample halls on every side, the sole and only real nobility is virtue. Be a Paulus,<sup>6</sup> or Cossus, or Drusus, in moral char-

<sup>1</sup> *Ortu.*

"Just at the hour when those whose name you boast  
Broke up the camp, and march'd th' embattled host." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Fabius*, the founder of the Fabian gens, was said to have been a son of Hercules by Vinduna, daughter of Evander, and by virtue of this descent the Fabii claimed the exclusive right of ministering at the altar consecrated by Evander to Hercules. It stood in the Forum Boarium, near the Circus Flaminius, and was called Ara Maxima. Cf. Ovid., *Fast.*, i., 581, "Constituique sibi quæ Maxima dicitur, Aram, Hic ubi pars urbis de bove nomen habet." Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, viii., 271, "Hanc aram luco statuit quæ Maxima semper dicitur nobis, et erit quæ Maxima semper." Quintus Fabius Maximus *Æmilianus*, the consul in the year B.C. 121, defeated the Allobroges at the junction of the Isère and the Rhone, and killed 130,000: for which he received the name of Allobrogicus. Cf. Liv., *Ep.* 61. Vell., ii., 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Euganea*, a district of Northern Italy, on the confines of the Venetian territory.

<sup>4</sup> *Pumice*. The pumice found at Catana, now Catania, at the foot of Mount *Ætna*, was used to rub the body with to make it smooth (cf. ix., 95, "Inimicus pumice lævis." Plin., xxxvi., 21. Ovid, *A. Am.*, i., 506, "Nec tua mordaci pumice crura teras"), after the hairs had been got rid of by the resin. Vid. inf., 114.—*Traducit.* Vid. ad xi., 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Frangendâ*. The busts of great criminals were broken by the common executioner. Cf. x., 58, "Descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur." Tac., *Ann.*, vi., 2, "Atroces sententiæ dicebantur in effigies." Cf. Ruperti, ad Tac., *Ann.*, ii., 32. Suet., *Domit.*, 23.

"He blast his wretched kindred with a bust.

For public justice to reduce to dust." Gifford.

<sup>6</sup> *Paulus*. He mentions (*Sat.* vii., 143) two lawyers, bearing the names of Paulus and Cossus, who were apparently no honor to their great names. (For Cossus, cf. inf. *Gatulice*.)

acter. Set *that* before the images of your ancestors. Let that, when you are consul, take precedence of the fasces themselves. What I claim from you first is the noble qualities of the mind. If you deserve indeed to be accounted a man of blameless integrity, and stanch love of justice, both in word and deed, then I recognize the real nobleman. All hail, Gætulicus!<sup>1</sup> or thou, Silanus,<sup>2</sup> or from whatever other blood descended, a rare and illustrious citizen, thou fallest to the lot of thy rejoicing country. Then we may exultingly shout out what the people exclaim when Osiris is found.<sup>3</sup>

For who would call him noble that is unworthy of his race, and distinguished only for his illustrious name? We call some one's dwarf,<sup>4</sup> Atlas; a negro, swan; a diminutive and deformed wench, Europa. Lazy curs scabbed<sup>5</sup> with inveterate mange, that lick the edges of the lamp now dry, will get the name of Leopard, Tiger, Lion, or whatever other beast there is on earth that roars with fiercer throat. Therefore you will take care and begin to fear lest it is upon the same principle you are a Creticus<sup>6</sup> or Camerinus.

<sup>1</sup> *Gætulice*. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus received the name of Gætulicus from his victory over the Gætuli, "Auspice Augusto," in his consulship with L. Calpurnius Piso Augur. B.C. 1. Vid. Clinton, F. H., in an. Flor., iv., 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Silanus*. The son-in-law of the Emperor Claudius, who, as Tacitus says (Ann., xvi., 7), "Claritudine generis, and modestâ juventâ præcellebat." Cf. Ann., xii. Suet., Claud., 27,

"Hail from whatever stock you draw your birth,  
The son of Cossus, or the son of earth." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Osiri invento*. Vid. ad vi., 533.

<sup>4</sup> *Namum cujusdam*. There is probably an allusion here to Domitian's fondness for these deformities. Cf. Domit., iv., "Per omne spectaculum ante pedes ei stabat puerulus coccinatus, *pravo portentosque capite*, cum quo plurimum fabulabatur." Cf. Stat. i.; vi., 57, seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Scabie*. "That mangy larcenist of casual spoil,

From lamps extinct that licks the fetid oil." Badham.

<sup>6</sup> *Creticus*. Q. Metellus had this surname from his conquest of Crete, B.C. 67. Vell. Pat., ii., 34. Flor., iii., 7. Cf. ii., 78, "Cretice pelluces." P. Sulpicius Camerinus was one of the triumvirs sent to Athens for Solon's laws. Cf. vii., 90. Liv., iii., 33. Camerinus was a name of the Sulpician gens, and seems to have been derived from

Whom have I admonished in these words? To you my words are addressed, Rubellius<sup>1</sup> Plautus! You are puffed up with your descent from the Drusi, just as though you had yourself achieved something to deserve being ennobled; and she that gave you birth should be of the brilliant blood of Iulus, and not the drudge that weaves for hire beneath the shelter of the windy rampart.<sup>2</sup> "You are the lower orders!" he says; "the very dregs of our populace! Not a man of you could tell where his father was born! But I am a Cecropid!" Long may you live!<sup>3</sup> and long revel in the joys of such a descent! Yet from the lowest of this common herd you will find one that is indeed an eloquent Roman. It is he that usually pleads the cause of the ignorant noble.<sup>4</sup> From the toga'd crowd will come one that can solve the knotty points of law, and the enigmas of the statutes. He it is that in his prime carves out his fortune with his sword, and goes to Euphrates, and the legions that keep guard over the conquered Batavi. While you are nothing but a Cecropid, and most like the shapeless pillar crowned with Hermes' head. Since in no other point of difference have you the advantage save in this—that his head is of

the conquest of Cameria in Latium. (Cf. Facciol.) Liv., i., 38. The name of Creticus was actually given in derision to M. Antonius, father of the triumvir, for his disastrous failure in Crete. Vid. Plut. in Ant.

<sup>1</sup> *Rubellius* Blandus was the father, Plautus the son. Both readings are found here. Of the latter Tacitus says (Ann., xiv., 22), "Omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebrabatur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Julia familia." His mother Julia was daughter of *Drusus*, the son of Livia, wife of Augustus. Germanicus, his mother's brother, was father of Agrippina, mother of Nero: hence, inf. 72, "inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo." Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, i., 288, "Julius a magno demissum nomen Iulo."

<sup>2</sup> *Aggere.* Cf. ad vi., 588.

<sup>3</sup> *Vivas.* "Long may'st thou taste the secret sweets that spring  
In breasts affined to so remote a king." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Nobilis indocti.*

"Who help the well-born dolt in many a strait,  
And plead the cause of the unletter'd great." Badham.

marble,<sup>1</sup> and your image is endowed with life! Tell me, descendant of the Teucri, who considers dumb animals highly bred, unless strong and courageous? Surely it is on this score we praise the fleet horse—to grace whose speed full many a palm glows,<sup>2</sup> and Victory, in the circus hoarse with shouting, stands exulting by. He is the steed of fame, from whatever pasture he comes, whose speed is brilliantly before the others, and whose dust is first on the plain. But the brood of Corytha, and Hirpinus' stock, are put up for sale if victory sit but seldom on their yoke. In their case no regard is had to their pedigree—their dead sires win them no favor—they are forced to change their owners for paltry prices, and draw wagons with galled withers, if slow of foot, and only fit to turn Nepos'<sup>3</sup> mill. Therefore that we may admire *you*, and not *yours*, first achieve some noble act<sup>4</sup> that I may inscribe on your statue's base, besides those honors that we pay, and ever shall pay, to those to whom you are indebted for all.

Enough has been said to the youth whom common report represents to us as haughty and puffed up from his relationship to Nero.<sup>5</sup> For in that rank of life the courtesies<sup>6</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> *Marmoreum*.

"For 'tis no bar to kindred, that thy block  
Is form'd of flesh and blood, and theirs of rock." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Fervet*. "Frequenter celebratur." Lubin. Some commentators interpret it of the eager clapping of the hands of the spectators: others, of the prize of victory.

"The palm of oft-repeated victories." Hodgson.

"Whom many a well-earned palm and trophy grace." Gifford.

"Whose easy triumph and transcendent speed,

Palm after palm proclaim." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Nepos*, the name of a noted miller at Rome.

<sup>4</sup> *Aliquid*. "Sometimes great." So i., 74, "Si vis esse *aliquis*." Hall imitates this beautifully:

"Brag of thy father's faults, they are thine own;  
Brag of his lands, if they are not foregone:  
Brag of thine own good deeds; for they are thine,  
More than his life, or lands, or golden line."

<sup>5</sup> *Nerone*. Cf. ad l. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Sensus communis*. There are few phrases in Juvenal on which the

good breeding are commonly rare enough. But you, Ponticus, I would not have *you* valued for your ancestors' renown; so as to contribute nothing yourself to deserve the praise of posterity. It is wretched work building on another's fame; lest the whole pile crumble into ruins when the pillars that held it up are withdrawn. The vine that trails along the ground,<sup>1</sup> sighs for its widowed elms in vain.

Prove yourself a good soldier, a faithful guardian, an incorruptible judge. If ever you shall be summoned as a witness in a doubtful and uncertain cause, though Phalaris himself command you to turn liar, and dictate the perjuries with his bull placed before your eyes, deem it to be the summit of impiety<sup>2</sup> to prefer existence to honor,<sup>3</sup> and for the sake of life to sacrifice life's only end! He that deserves to die *is* dead, though he still sup on a hundred Gauran<sup>4</sup>

commentators are more divided. Some interpret it exactly in the sense of the English words "common sense." Others, "fellow-feeling, sympathy with mankind at large." Browne takes it to be "tact." Cf. Hor., i., Sat. iii., 66; Phædr., i., Fab. vii., 4. There is a long and excellent note in Gifford, who translates it himself by "a sense of modesty," but allows that in Cicero it means "a polite intercourse between man and man;" in Horace, "suavity of manners;" in Seneca, "a proper regard for the decencies of life;" by others it is used for all these, which together constitute what we call "courteousness, or good breeding." So Quintilian, I., ii., 20. Hodgson turns it,

"For plain good sense, first blessing of the sky,  
Is rarely met with in a state so high."

Badham,

"In that high estate  
Plain common sense is far from common fate."

<sup>1</sup> *Stratus humi.*

"Stretch'd on the ground, the vine's weak tendrils try  
To clasp the elm they dropped from, fail, and die." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Summum crede nefas.* See some beautiful remarks in Coleridge's Introduction to the Greek Poets, p. 24, 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Pudori.*

"At honor's cost a feverish span extend,  
And sacrifice for life, life's only end!  
Life! I profane the word: can those be said  
To live, who merit death? No! they are dead." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Gaurana.* Gaurus (cf. ix., 57), a mountain of Campania, near Baiæ and the Lucrine Lake, which was famous for oysters (cf. iv.,

oysters, and plunge in a whole bath of the perfumes of Cosmus.<sup>1</sup>

When your long-expected province shall at length receive you for its ruler, set a bound to your passion, put a curb on your avarice. Have pity on our allies whom we have brought to poverty. You see the very marrow drained from the empty bones of kings. Have respect to what the laws prescribe, the senate enjoins. Remember what great rewards await the good, with how just a stroke ruin lighted on Capito<sup>2</sup> and Numitor, those pirates of the Cilicians, when the senate fulminated its decrees against them. But what avails their condemnation, when Pansa plunders you of all that Natta left? Look out for an auctioneer to sell your tattered clothes, Chærippus, and then hold your tongue! It is sheer madness to lose, when all is gone, even Charon's fee.<sup>3</sup>

There were not the same lamentations of yore, nor was the wound inflicted on our allies by pillage as great as it is now, while they were still flourishing, and but recently con-

141, "Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo Ostrea," Plin., iii., 5. Martial, v., Ep. xxxvii., 3, "Concha Lucrini delicatior stagni"), now called "Gierro."

<sup>1</sup> *Cosmus*, a celebrated perfumer, mentioned repeatedly by Martial.

<sup>2</sup> *Capito*. Cossutianus Capito, son-in-law of Tigellinus (cf. i., 155. Tac., Ann., xiv., 48; xvi., 17), was accused by the Cilicians of peculation and cruelty ("maculosum fœdumque, et idem jus audaciæ in provincia ratum quod in urbe exercuerat"), and condemned "lege repetundarum." Tac., Ann., xiii., 33. Thræsea Pætus was the advocate of the Cilicians, and in revenge for this, when Capito was restored to his honors by the influence of Tigellinus, he procured the death of Thræsea. Ann., xvi., 21, 28, 33. Of Numitor nothing is known save that he plundered these Cilicians, themselves once the most notorious of pirates. Cf. Plat. in Pomp. Some read Tutor; a Julius Tutor is mentioned repeatedly in the fourth book of Tac. Hist., but with no allusion to his plundering propensities.

<sup>3</sup> *Naulum*.

"Nor, though your earthly goods be sunk and lost,  
Lose the poor waftage of the wandering ghost." Hodgson.  
Cf. iii., 267, "Nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem." Holyday and Ruperti interpret it, "Do not waste your little remnant in an unprofitable journey to Rome to accuse your plunderer." Gifford says it is merely the old proverb, and renders it, "And though you've lost the hatchet, save the haft."



quered.<sup>1</sup> Then every house was full, and a huge pile of money stood heaped up, cloaks from Sparta, purple robes from Cos, and along with pictures by Parrhasius, and statues by Myro, the ivory of Phidias seemed instinct with life;<sup>2</sup> and many a work from Polycletus' hand in every house; few were the tables that could not show a cup of Mentor's chasing. Then came Dolabella,<sup>3</sup> and then Antony, then the sacrilegious Verres;<sup>4</sup> they brought home in their tall<sup>5</sup> ships the spoils they dared not show, and more<sup>6</sup> triumphs from peace than were ever won from war. Now our allies have but few yokes of oxen, a small stock of brood-mares, and the patriarch<sup>7</sup> of the herd will be harried from the pasture they have already taken possession of. Then the very Lares themselves, if there is any statue worth looking at, if any little shrine still holds its single god. For this, since it is the best they have, is the highest prize they can seize upon.

You may perhaps despise the Rhodians unfit for war, and essenced Corinth: and well you may! How can a resin-smeared<sup>8</sup> youth, and the depilated legs of a whole nation, retaliate upon you. You must keep clear of rugged Spain, the Gallic car,<sup>9</sup> and the Illyrian coast. Spare too those

<sup>1</sup> *Modo victis*. Browne explains this by *tantummodo victis*, i.e., only subdued, not plundered; and so Ruperti.

<sup>2</sup> *Vivebat*. "And ivory taught by Phidias' skill to live." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Dolabella*. There were three "pirates" of this name, all accused of extortion; of whom Cicero's son-in-law, the governor of Syria, seems to have been the worst.

<sup>4</sup> *Verres* retired from Rome and lived in luxurious and happy retirement twenty-six years.

<sup>5</sup> *Altis*, or "deep-laden."

<sup>6</sup> *Plures*.

"More treasures from our friends in peace obtain'd,  
Than from our foes in war were ever gain'd." Gifford.

<sup>7</sup> *Pater*. "They drive the father of the herd away,

Making both stallion and his pasture prey." Dryden.

<sup>8</sup> *Resinata*. Resin dissolved in oil was used to clear the skin of superfluous hairs. Cf. Plin., xiv., 20, "pudet confiteri maximum jam honorem (resinæ) esse in evellendis ab virorum corporibus pilis."

<sup>9</sup> *Gallicus axis*. Cf. Cæs., B. G., i., 51. "The war chariot;" or the

reapers<sup>1</sup> that overstock the city, and give it leisure for the circus<sup>2</sup> and the stage. Yet what rewards to repay so atrocious a crime could you carry off from thence, since Marius<sup>3</sup> has so lately plundered the impoverished Africans even of their very girdles?<sup>4</sup>

You must be especially cautious lest a deep injury be inflicted on those who are bold as well as wretched. Though you may strip them of all the gold and silver they possess, you will yet leave them shield and sword, and javelin and helm. Plundered of all, they yet have *arms* to spare!

What I have just set forth is no opinion of my own. Believe that I am reciting to you a leaf of the sibyl, that can not lie. If your retinue are men of spotless life, if no favorite youth<sup>5</sup> barter your judgments for gold, if your wife<sup>6</sup> is clear from all stain of guilt, and does not prepare to go through the district courts,<sup>7</sup> and all the towns of your province,

"climate of Gaul," as colder than that of Rome, and breeding fiercer men. Cf. vi., 470. "Hyperboreum axem," xiv., 42.

<sup>1</sup> *Messoribus*. These reapers are the *Africans*, from whom Rome derived her principal supply of corn. Cf. v., 119. Plin., v., 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Circo*. Cf. x., 80, "duas tantum res anxius optat, Panem et Circenses." Tac., Hist., i., 4, "Plebs sordida ac Circo et Theatris sueta."

"From those thy gripes restrain,  
Who with their sweat Rome's luxury maintain,  
And send us plenty, while our wanton day  
Is lavish'd at the circus or the play." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Marius*. Vid. ad i., 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Discinxerit*. Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, viii., 724, "Hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros." Sil. Ital., ii., 56, "Discinctos Libyas." Money was carried in girdles (xiv., 296), and the Africans wore but little other clothing. For the amount of his plunder, see Plin., ii., Ep. xi., "Cornutus, censuit septingenta millia quæ acceperat Marius ærario inferenda."

<sup>5</sup> *Acersecomes*. Some "puer intonsus" with flowing locks like Bacchus or Apollo. Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης. Hom., *Il.*, xx., 39. Pind., *Pyth.*, iii., 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Conjuge*. Cf. the discussion in the senate recorded Tac., *Ann.*, iii., 33, seq.

<sup>7</sup> *Conventus*. "Loca constituta in provinciis juri dicundo." The different towns in the provinces where the Roman governors held their courts and heard appeals. The *courts* as well as the *towns* were called by this name. They were also called *Fora* and *Jurisdictiones*.

ready, like a Celæno<sup>1</sup> with her crooked talons, to swoop upon the gold—then you may, if you please, reckon your descent from Picus; and if high-sounding names are your fancy, place the whole army of Titans among your ancestors, or even Prometheus<sup>2</sup> himself. Adopt a founder of your line from any book you please. But if ambition and lust hurry you away headlong, if you break your rods<sup>3</sup> on the bloody backs of the allies, if your delight is in axes blunted by the victor worn out with using them—then the nobility of your sires themselves begins to rise<sup>4</sup> in judgment against you, and hold forth a torch to blaze upon your shameful deeds.<sup>5</sup> Every act of moral turpitude incurs more glaring reprobation in exact proportion to the rank of him that commits it. Why vaunt your pedigree to me? you, that are wont to put your name to forged deeds in the very temples<sup>6</sup> which your grandsire built, before your very fathers' triumphal statues! or, an adulterer that dares not face the day, you veil your brows concealed beneath a Santon<sup>7</sup> cowl. The bloated Damasippus is whirled in his rapid car past the

Vid. Plin., III., i., 3; V., xxix., 29. Cic. in Verr., II., v., 11. Cæs., B. G., i., 54; vi., 44.

<sup>1</sup> *Celæno*. Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, iii., 211, "dira Celæno Harpyiæque aliæ."

<sup>2</sup> *Promethea*.

"E'en from Prometheus' self thy lineage trace,  
And ransack history to adorn thy race." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Frangis virgas*.

"Rods broke on our associates' bleeding backs,  
And headsmen laboring till they blunt their axe." Dryden.

<sup>4</sup> *Incipit ipsorum*.

"The lofty pride of every honor'd name  
Shall rise to vindicate insulted fame,  
And hold the torch to blazon forth thy shame." Hodgson.

<sup>5</sup> *Contra te stare*.

"Will to his blood oppose your daring claim,  
And fire a torch to blaze upon your shame." Gifford.

<sup>6</sup> *Temples*. The sealing of wills was usually performed in temples; in the morning, and fasting, as the canon law afterward directed.

<sup>7</sup> *Santonico*. The Santones were a people of Aquitania, between the Loire and Garonne. Cf. Mart., xiv., Ep. 128, "Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo."

ashes and bones of his ancestors—and with his own hands, yes! though consul! with his own hands locks his wheel with the frequent drag-chain.<sup>1</sup> It is, indeed, at night. But still the moon sees him! The stars strain on him their at-testing eyes.<sup>2</sup> When the period of his magistracy is closed, Damasippus<sup>3</sup> will take whip in hand in the broad glare of day, and never dread meeting his friend now grown old, and will be the first to give him the coachman's salute, and untie the trusses and pour the barley<sup>4</sup> before his weary steeds himself. Meantime, even while according to Numa's ancient rites he sacrifices the woolly victim and the stalwart bull before Jove's altar, he swears by Epona<sup>5</sup> alone, and the faces daubed over the stinking stalls. But when he is pleased to repeat his visits to the taverns open all night long, the Syrophœnician, reeking with his assiduous perfume,<sup>6</sup> runs to meet him (the Syrophœnician that dwells at the Idumæan<sup>7</sup> gate), with all the studied courtesy of a host, he salutes him as "lord"<sup>8</sup> and "king;" and Cyane, with gown tucked up, with her bottle for sale. One who wishes to palliate his crimes will say to me, "Well; we did so too when we were

<sup>1</sup> *Sufflamine*. "The introduction of the drag-chain has a local propriety: Rome, with its seven hills, had just so many necessities for the frequent use of the sufflamen. This necessity, from the change of the soil, exists no longer." Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Testes*. Cf. vi., 311, *Lunà teste*.

<sup>3</sup> *Damasippus* (cf. Hor., ii., Sat. iii., 16) was a name of the Licinian gens. "Damasippus was sick," says Holyday, "of that disease which the Spartans call horse-feeding."

<sup>4</sup> *Hordea*. Horses in Italy are fed on barley, not on oats.

<sup>5</sup> *Eponam* (cf. Aristoph., *Nub.*, 84), the patroness of grooms. Some read "Hipponam," which Gifford prefers, from the tameness of the epithet "solam." Cf. Blunt's *Vestiges*, p. 29.

"On some rank deity, whose filthy face  
We suitably o'er stinking stables place." Dryden.

<sup>6</sup> *Amomo*, an Assyrian shrub. Cf. iv., 108.

<sup>7</sup> *Idumæ*. The gate at Rome near the Arch of Titus, through which Vespasian and Titus entered the city in triumph after their victories in Palestine.

<sup>8</sup> *Dominum*. Cf. Mart., I., Ep. 113, "Cum te non nossem dominum regemque vocabam." Cf. iv., Ep. 84, 5.

young!" Granted. But surely you left off, and did not indulge in your folly beyond that period. Let what you basely dare be ever brief! There are some faults that should be shorn away with our first beard. Make all reasonable allowance for boys. But Damasippus frequents those debauches of the bagnios, and the painted signs,<sup>1</sup> when of ripe age for war, for guarding Armenia<sup>2</sup> and Syria's rivers, and the Rhine or Danube. His time of life qualifies him to guard the emperor's person. Send then to Ostia!<sup>3</sup> Cæsar—send! But look for your general in some great tavern. You will find him reclining with some common cut-throat; in a medley of sailors, and thieves, and run-away slaves; among executioners and cheap coffin-makers,<sup>4</sup> and the now silent drums of the priest of Cybele, lying drunk on his back.<sup>5</sup> There there is equal liberty for all—cups in common—nor different couch for any, or table set aloof from the

<sup>1</sup> *Inscripta lintea*. Perhaps "curtains, having painted on them what was for sale within." Others say it means "embroidered with needle-work;" or "towels," according to Calderinus, who compares Catull., xxv., 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Armenia*. The allusion is to Corbulo's exploits in Parthia and Armenia in Nero's reign, A.D. 60. Cf. ad iii., 251. There were great disturbances in the same quarters in Trajan's reign, which caused his expedition, in A.D. 114, against the Armenians and Parthians. In A.D. 100, Marius Priscus was accused by Pliny and Tacitus. Vid. Plin., ii., Ep. xi. Probably half way between these two dates we may fix the writing of this Satire.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitte Ostia*. So most of the commentators interpret it. "Send your Legatus to take the command of the troops for foreign service, waiting for embarkation at Ostia." But if so, "ad" should be expressed, and either Tibernia added, or Ostia made of the 1st declension. Britann., therefore, and Heinrich explain it, "Pass by his own doors;" omittit quærere illic, "he is far away."

<sup>4</sup> *Sandapila*. The bier or open coffin, on which the poor, or those killed in the amphitheatre, were carried to burial; hence "*sandapila popularis*." Suet., Domit., 27. Stepney (in Dryden's version) thus enumerates these worthies:

"Quacks, coffin-makers, fugitives, and sailors,  
Rooks, common soldiers, hangmen, thieves and tailors."

<sup>5</sup> *Resupinantis*. In Holyday's quaint version,  
"Among great Cybel's silent drums, which lack  
Their Phrygian priest, who lies drunk on his back."

herd. What would you do, Ponticus, were it your lot to have a slave of such a character? Why surely you would dispatch him to the Lucanian or Tuscan bridewells.<sup>1</sup> But you, ye Trojugenæ! find excuses for yourselves, and what would disgrace a cobbler<sup>2</sup> will be becoming in a Volesus or Brutus!

What if we never produce examples so foul and shameful, that worse do not yet remain behind! When all your wealth was squandered, Damasippus, you let your voice for hire<sup>3</sup> to the stage,<sup>4</sup> to act the noisy Phasma<sup>5</sup> of Catullus. Velox Lentulus acted Laureolus, and creditably too. In my judgment he deserved crucifying in earnest. Nor yet can you acquit the people themselves from blame. The brows of the people are too hardened that sit<sup>6</sup> spectators of the buffooneries of the patricians, listen to the Fabii with naked

<sup>1</sup> *Ergastula*. Private prisons attached to Roman farms, in which the slaves worked in chains. The Tuscan were peculiarly severe. Vid. Dennis's *Etruria*, vol. i., p. xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Turpia cerdoni*. Cf. iv., 13, "Nam quod turpe bonis Titio Seioque decebat Crispinum." Pers., iv., 51, "Tollat sua munera cerdo."

"And crimes that tinge with shame the cobbler's face,

Become the lords of Brutus' honor'd race." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Locasti*. "Lets out his voice (his sole remaining boast),  
And rants the nonsense of a clam'rous ghost." Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Sipario*. The curtain or drop-scene in *comedy*, as *Aulæum* was in *tragedy*. Donat.

<sup>5</sup> *Phasma*. Probably a translation from the Greek. Ter., *Eun.*, pr. 9, "Idem Menandri phasma nunc nuper dedit." Catullus is not to be confounded with C. Valerius Catullus of Verona (the old Schol. says Q. Lutatius Catullus is meant, and quotes xiii., 11, whom Lubinus, ad loc., calls "Urbanus Catullus") as far as the Phasma is concerned.—*Laureolus* was the chief character in a play or ballet by Val. Catullus, or Laberius, or Nævius: and was crucified on the stage, and then torn to pieces by wild beasts. Martial (*de Spect.*, Ep. vii.) says this was acted to the life in the Roman amphitheatre, the part of the bandit being performed by a real malefactor, who was crucified and torn to pieces in the arena, "Non falsâ pendens in cruce Laureolus."

"And Lentulus *acts* hanging with such art,

Were I a judge, he should not *feign* the part." Dryden.

<sup>6</sup> *Sedet*. "Sit with unblushing front, and calmly see  
The hired patrician's low buffoonery;  
Smile at the Fabii's tricks, and grin to hear  
The cuffs resound from the Mamerci's ear." Gifford



feet, and laugh at the slaps on the faces of the Mamerci. What matters it at what price they sell their lives: they sell them at no tyrant's compulsion,<sup>1</sup> [nor hesitate<sup>2</sup> to do it even at the games of the prætor seated on high.] Yet imagine the gladiator's sword<sup>3</sup> on one side, the stage on the other. Which is the better alternative? Has any one so slavish a dread of death as to become the jealous lover of Thymeles,<sup>4</sup> the colleague of the heavy Corinthus? Yet it is nothing to be wondered at, if the emperor turn harper, that the nobleman should turn actor. To crown all this, what is left but the amphitheatre?<sup>5</sup> And this disgrace of the city you have as well—Gracchus<sup>6</sup> not fighting equipped as a *Mirmillo*, with buckler or falchion (for he condemns—yes, condemns and hates such an equipment). Nor does he conceal his face beneath a helmet. See! he wields a trident. When he has cast without effect the nets suspended from his poised right hand, he boldly lifts his uncovered face to the spectators, and, easily to be recognized, flees across the whole arena. We can not mistake the tunic,<sup>7</sup> since the ribbon of gold reaches from his neck, and flutters in the breeze from his high-peaked cap. Therefore the disgrace, which the

<sup>1</sup> *Cogente Nerone*. Cf. Tac., Ann., xiv., 14, who abstains from mentioning the names of the nobles thus disgraced, out of respect for their ancestors. Cf. Dio., lxi. Suetonius says (Nero, cap. xii.) that 400 senators and 600 knights were thus dishonored (but Lipsius says 40 and 60 are the true numbers).

<sup>2</sup> *Nec dubitant*. No doubt a spurious line.

<sup>3</sup> *Gladios*. This is the usual interpretation. Perhaps it would be better to take "gladios" for the death that awaits you if you refuse to comply: as iv., 96; x., 345. So Badham:

"Place here the tyrant's sword, and there the scene;  
Gods! can a Roman hesitate between!"

<sup>4</sup> *Thymeles*. Cf. i., 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ludus*. Properly, "school of gladiators."

<sup>6</sup> *Gracchus*. Cf. ii., 143.

<sup>7</sup> *Tunicæ*. Cf. ii., 143, *tunicati fuscina Gracchi*. Suet., Cal., 30. The *Retiarii* wore a tunic only. The gold *spira* was the band that tied the tall conical cap of the *Salii*; who wore also a gold fringe round the tunic.

Secutor had to submit to, in being forced to fight with Gracchus, was worse than any wound. Were the people allowed the uncontrolled exercise of their votes, who could be found so abandoned as to hesitate to prefer Seneca<sup>1</sup> to Nero? For whose punishment there should have been prepared not a single ape<sup>2</sup> only, or one snake or sack.<sup>3</sup> "His crime is matched by that of Orestes?"<sup>4</sup> But it is the motive cause that gives the quality to the act. Since he, at the instigation of the gods themselves, was the avenger of his father butchered in his cups. But he neither imbrued his hands in Electra's blood, or that of his Spartan wife; he mixed no aconite for his relations. Orestes never sang on the stage; he never wrote "Troïcs." What blacker crime was there for Virginius's<sup>5</sup> arms to avenge, or Galba leagued with Vindex? In all his tyranny, cruel and bloody as it was, what exploit did Nero<sup>6</sup> achieve? These are the works, these the accomplishments of a high-born prince—delighting to prostitute<sup>7</sup> his rank by disgraceful dancing on a foreign stage,

<sup>1</sup> *Seneca*. There is said to be an allusion here to the plot of Subrius Flavius to murder Nero and make Seneca emperor. It was believed that Seneca was privy to it. Tac., Ann., xv., 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Simia*. Cf. xiii., 155, "Et deducendum corio bovis in mare cum quo clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis." The punishment of parricides was to be scourged, then sewn up in a bull's hide with a serpent, an ape, a cock, and a dog, and to be thrown into the sea. The first person thus punished was P. Malleolus, who murdered his mother. Liv., Epit. lxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Culeus*. Cf. Suet., Aug., 33. Nero murdered his mother Agrippina, his aunt Domitia, both his wives, Octavia and Poppæa, his brother Britannicus, and several other relations.

<sup>4</sup> *Agamemnoïdæ*. Grangæus quotes the Greek verse current in Nero's time, Νέρων, Ὀρέστης, Ἀλκμαίων μητροκτόνοι. Cf. Suet., Nero, 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Virginius* Rufus, who was legatus in Lower Germany, Julius Vindex, prætor of Gaul, and Sergius Galba, præfect of Hispania Tarraconensis, afterward emperor, were the chiefs of the last conspiracy against Nero. In August, A.D. 67, Nero was playing the fool in Greece; in March, 68, he heard with terror and dismay of the revolt of Vindex, who proclaimed Galba. Dio., lxiii., 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Quid Nero*. "What but such acts did Rome indignant see Perform'd in Nero's savage tyranny?" Hodgson.

<sup>7</sup> *Prostitui*. "To prostitute his voice for base renown, And ravish from the Greeks a parsley crown." Gifford.

and earn the parsley of the Grecian crown. Array the statues of your ancestors in the trophies of your voice. At Domitius<sup>1</sup> feet lay the long train of Thyestes, or Antigone, or Menalippe's mask, and hang your harp<sup>2</sup> on the colossus of marble.

What could any one find more noble than thy birth, Catiline, or thine, Cethegus! Yet ye prepared arms to be used by night, and flames for our houses and temples, as though ye had been the sons of the Braccati,<sup>3</sup> or descendants of the Senones. Attempting what one would be justified in punishing by the pitched shirt.<sup>4</sup> But the consul is on the watch<sup>5</sup> and restrains your bands. He whom you sneer at as a novus<sup>6</sup> homo from Arpinum, of humble birth, and but

Nero was in Greece A.D. 67, into which year (though not an Olympiad) he crowded all the games of Greece, "*Certamina omnia et quæ diversissimorum temporum sunt cogi in unum annum jussit.*" Suet., Ner., 23. "*Romam introit coronam capite gerens Olympiam dextrâ manu Pythiam,*" c. 25.

<sup>1</sup> *Domitius* was the name both of the father and grandfather of Nero. His father was Domitius Ahenobarbus, governor of Transalpine Gaul. Suetonius (Nero, 6) tells us that the two *pædagogi* to whom his childhood was intrusted were a *saltator* and a *tonsor*. To this perhaps his subsequent tastes may be traced.

<sup>2</sup> *Citharam*. Cf. Suet., Ner., 12, "*Citharæ a judicibus ad se delatam, adoravit ferrique ad Augusti statuam jussit.*"

"And on the proud Colossus of your sire,

Suspend the splendid trophy of—a lyre!" Hodgson.

"*Sacras coronas in cubiculis circum lectos posuit: item statuas suas Citharædico habitu: quâ notâ etiam nummum percussit.*" Suet., Ner., 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Braccatorum*. Gallia Narbonensis was called Braccata from the Braccæ, probably "plaid," which the inhabitants wore. Plin., iii., 4. Diod., v., 30. The Senones were a people of Gallia Lugdunensis, who sacked Rome under Brennus; hence *Minores*, i.e., "as though you had been the hereditary enemies of Rome."

<sup>4</sup> *Tunicâ molestâ*. Cf. ad i., 155, "a dress smeared with pitch and other combustibles," and then lighted. Cf. Mart., x., Ep. xxv., 5. In some cases Nero buried his victims up to the waist, and then set fire to their upper parts.

<sup>5</sup> *Vigilat* refers to Cicero's own words, "*Jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem, quam te ad perniciem reipublicæ.*"

<sup>6</sup> *Novus*. Cicero was the first of the Tullia gens that held a curule magistracy. Arpinum, his birthplace, now Arpino, was a small town of the Volsci. The Municipia had their three grades, of patricians, knights, and plebeians, as Rome had; they lived under their own laws, but their citizens were eligible to all offices at Rome.

lately made a municipal knight at Rome, disposes every where his armed guards to protect the terrified people, and exerts himself in every quarter. Therefore the peaceful toga, within the walls, bestowed on him such honors and renown as not even Octavius bore away from Leucas<sup>1</sup> or the plains of Thessaly, with sword reeking with unintermitted slaughter. But Rome owned him for a parent. Rome, when unfettered,<sup>2</sup> hailed Cicero as father of his father-land.

Another native of Arpinum was wont to ask for his wages when wearied with another's plow on the Volscian hills. After that, he had the knotted vine-stick<sup>3</sup> broken about his head, if he lazily fortified the camp with sluggish axe. Yet *he* braved the Cimbri, and the greatest perils of the state, and alone protected the city in her alarm. And therefore when the ravens, that had never lighted on bigger carcasses,<sup>4</sup> flocked to the slaughtered heaps of Cimbrians slain, his nobly-born colleague is honored with a laurel inferior to his.<sup>5</sup>

The souls of the Decii were plebeian, their very names plebeian. Yet these are deemed by the infernal deities and mother Earth a fair equivalent for the whole legions, and all the forces of the allies, and all the flower of Latium.

<sup>1</sup> *Leucas*, i.e., "Actium." *Thessaliæ*, "Philippi." The words following probably refer to the brutal cruelty of Augustus after the battle.

<sup>2</sup> *Libera*. "When Rome could utter her free unfettered sentiments" (as sup., "*Libera si dentur populo suffragia*"). Not in the spirit of servile adulation, with which she bestowed the same title on her emperors.

<sup>3</sup> *Vitem*. The centurion's baton of office as well as instrument of punishment. Cf. xiv., 193; Mart., x., Ep. xxvi., 1. See the story of Lucilius, nicknamed *Cedo alteram*, in Tac., Ann., i., 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Majora cadavera*. Besides their fierce gray eyes (xiii., 164), the Germans were conspicuous for their stature and red hair. "*Truces et cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magnum corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.*" Tac., Germ., iv. "*Cimbri præ Italîs ingentes.*" Flor., iii., 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Lauro secundâ*. A double triumph was decreed to Marius; he gave up the second to Q. Lutatius Catulus, his noble colleague, to satisfy his soldiers, who knew, better than Juvenal, that the *nobleman's* services did *not* fall short of those of the plebeian. Marius afterward barbarously murdered him.

For the Decii<sup>1</sup> were more highly valued by *them* than all they died to save!

It was one born from a slave<sup>2</sup> that won the robe and diadem and fasces of Quirinus, that last of good kings! They that were for loosening the bolts of the gates betrayed to the exiled tyrants, were the sons of the consul himself! men from whom we might have looked for some glorious achievement in behalf of liberty when in peril; some act that Mucius' self, or Cocles, might admire; and the maiden that swam across<sup>3</sup> the Tiber, then the limit of our empire. He that divulged to the fathers the secret treachery was a slave,<sup>4</sup> afterward to be mourned for by all the Roman matrons: while they suffer the well-earned punishment of the scourge, and the axe,<sup>5</sup> then first used by Rome since she became republican.

I had rather that Thersites<sup>6</sup> were your sire, provided you resembled Æscides and could wield the arms of Vulcan, than that Achilles should beget you to be a match to Thersites.

<sup>1</sup> *Deciorum*. Alluding to the three immolations of the Decii, father, son, and grandson, in the wars with the Latins, Gauls, and Pyrrhus. All three bore the name of Publius Decius Mus. Juvenal comes very near the formula of self-devotion given in Liv., viii., 6, *seq.* "Exercitum Diis Manibus matricque terræ deberi."

<sup>2</sup> *Ancilla natus*. Servius Tullius (Cf. vii., 199) was the son of Ocrisia, or Ocriculana, a captive from Corniculum. Liv., i., 39. The *Trebea* was a white robe with a border and *broad stripes* (*trabes*) of purple, worn afterward by consuls and augurs: cf. x., 35; the *diadema* of the ancient kings was a *fillet* or ribbon, not a crown.

"And he who graced the purple which he wore,  
The last good king of Rome, a bondmaid bore." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Natavit*.

"And she who mock'd the javelins whistling round,  
And swam the Tiber, then the empire's bound." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Servus*. Livy calls him Vindicius; and derives from him the name of the Vindicta, "the rod of manumission." Liv., ii., 7. He was mourned for at his death by the Roman matrons publicly, as Brutus had been.

<sup>5</sup> *Legum prima securis*. Tarquinius Priscus introduced the axe and fasces with the other regalia. The axe therefore had often fallen for the *tyrants*; now it is used for the first time in defense of a legal constitution and a *free republic*.

<sup>6</sup> *Thersites*. Hom., Il., ii., 212.

And yet, however far you go back, however far you trace your name, you do but derive your descent from the infamous sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> That first of your ancestors, whoever he was, was either a shepherd, or else—what I would rather not mention !

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## SATIRE IX.

### ARGUMENT.

THE Satire consists of a dialogue between the poet and one Nævulus, a dependent of some wealthy debauchee, who, after making him subservient to his unnatural passions, in return starved, insulted, hated, and discarded him. The whole object seems to be, to inculcate the grand moral lesson, that, under any circumstances, a life of sin is a life of slavery.

I SHOULD like to know, Nævulus,<sup>2</sup> why you so often meet me with clouded brow forlorn, like Marsyas after his defeat. What have you to do with such a face as Ravola had when detected with his Rhodope?<sup>3</sup> We give a slave a box on the ear, if he licks the pastry. Why! Crepereius Pollio<sup>4</sup> had not a more woe-begone face than yours; he that went about ready to pay three times the ordinary interest, and could find none fools enough to trust him. Where do so many wrinkles come from all of a sudden? Why, surely before, contented

<sup>1</sup> *Asylo*. Cf. Liv., i., 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Nævulus* is mentioned repeatedly by Martial, and seems to have been a lawyer, i., Ep. 98; iii., Ep. 71 and 95; iv., Ep. 84: hence perhaps the allusion to Marsyas, whose statue stood in the Forum, opposite the Rostra, as a warning to the litigious. Cf. Hor., i., Sat. vi., 120. Xen., *Anab.*, I., ii., 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhodope*. Some well-known courtesan named after Æsop's fellow-slave in the house of Iadmon the Samian, afterward so well known in Egypt. Herod., ii., 134. Cf. Ælian., V. H., xiii., 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Pollio*. Cf. xi., 43, "digito mendicat Pollio nudo."



with little, you used to live like a gentleman's gentleman<sup>1</sup>—a witty boon-companion with your biting jest, and sharp at repartees that savor of town-life!

Now all is the reverse; your looks are dejected; your tangled hair bristles like a thicket;<sup>2</sup> there is none of that sleekness over your whole skin, such as the Bruttian plaster of hot pitch used to give you; but your legs are neglected and rank with a shrubbery of hair. What means this emaciated form, like that of some old invalid parched this many a day with quartan ague and fever that has made his limbs its home? You may detect<sup>3</sup> the anguish of the mind that lurks in the sickly body—and discover its joys also. For the face, the index of the mind, takes its complexion from each. You seem, therefore, to have changed your course of life, and to run counter to your former habits. For, but lately, as I well remember, you used to haunt the temple of Isis,<sup>4</sup> and the statue of Ganymede in the temple of Peace,<sup>5</sup> and the secret palaces of the imported mother<sup>6</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> *Vernam equitem*. The slaves born in the house were generally spoiled by indulgence; and they frequently got the nickname of *Equites*, out of petulant familiarity or fondness.

<sup>2</sup> *Sylva*.

“And every limb, once smooth'd with nicest care,  
Rank with neglect, a shrubbery of hair.” Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Deprendas*.

“Sorrow nor joy can be disguised by art,  
Our foreheads blab the secrets of our heart.” Dryden.

<sup>4</sup> *Isis*. Cf. vi., 489, “Aut apud Isiacæ potius sacraria lenæ.”

<sup>5</sup> *Pacis*. Vespasian built the splendid temple of Peace near the Forum, A.D. 76. Dio., lxi., 15. Suet., Vesp. 9. In it, or near it, stood the statue of Ganymede. Others think that Ganymedes is put for the temple of Jupiter.

<sup>6</sup> *Advectæ Matris*, i.e., Cybele, called also *Parens Idæa*, and *Numen Idæum*, because her worship was introduced into Rome from Phrygia, A.U.C. 548, after the Sibylline books had been consulted as to the means of averting certain prodigies. The rude and shapeless mass which represented the goddess was lodged in the house of P. Corn. Scipio Nasica, as the most virtuous man in Rome. Cf. Sat. iii., 137. Liv., xxix., 10. A temple was afterward erected for her on the Palatine Hill: hence *palatia*. *Secreta* alludes to the abominable orgies performed in her honor.

the gods; ay, and Ceres too (for what temple is there in which you may not find a woman)—a more notorious adulterer even than Aufidius, and under the rose, not confining your attentions to the wives!

Yes: even this way of life is profitable to many. But I never made it worth my while: we do occasionally get greasy cloaks, that serve to save our toga, of coarse texture and indifferent dye, the clumsy workmanship of some French weaver's lay; or a small piece of silver of inferior metal.<sup>1</sup> The Fates control the destinies of men: nay, there is fate even in those very parts which the lap of the toga conceals from view. For if the stars are unpropitious, your manly powers, remaining unknown, will profit you nothing, even though the liquorish Virro has seen you stripped, and seductive billets-doux, closely following each other, are forever assailing you: for such a fellow as he even entices others to sin. Yet, what monster can be worse than one miserly as well as effeminate?<sup>2</sup> "I gave you so much, then so much, and then soon after you had more!" He reckons up and still acts the wanton. "Let us settle our accounts! Send for the slaves with my account-book! Reckon up five thousand sesterces in all! Then count up your services!" Are then my duties so light, and so little against the grain? Far less wretched will be the poor slave that digs the great man's land! But you, forsooth, thought yourself delicate, and young, and beautiful! fit to be a cup-bearer in heaven.

Will you ever bestow favors on a humble dependent, or be generous to one that pays you court, when you grudge even

<sup>1</sup> *Venæque secundæ.* "Silver adulterated with brass below the standard; in short, base metal."

<sup>2</sup> *Mollis avarus.* "But oh! this wretch, this prodigy behold!  
A slave at once to lechery and gold." Dryden.

the money you spend on your unnatural<sup>1</sup> gratifications? See the fellow! to whom you are to send a present of a green parasol and large amber<sup>2</sup> bowls, as often as his birthday comes round, or rainy spring begins; or pillowed on his cushioned sofa, he fingers presents set apart for the female Kalends!<sup>3</sup> Tell me, you sparrow, for whom it is you are keeping so many hills, so many Apulian<sup>4</sup> farms, so many kites wearied in flying across your pastures? Your Trifoline estate<sup>5</sup> enriches you with its fruitful vines; and the hill that looks down<sup>6</sup> on Cumæ, and caverned Gaurus. Who seals up more<sup>7</sup> casks of wine that will bear long keeping? How great a matter would it be to present the loins of your client,

<sup>1</sup> *Morbo*. Cf. Hor., i., Sat. vi., 30, "Ut si qui ægrotet quo morbo Barrus."

<sup>2</sup> *Succina*. Cf. ad vi., 573. The old Schol. explains this by "*Gemmata Dextrocheria*." Grangæus thinks that it means "presents of amber," which the Roman ladies used to rub in their hands. So Badham:

"For whom the cup of amber must be found,  
Oft as the birth or festal day comes round."

<sup>3</sup> *Fæmineis Kalendis*. On the 1st of March were celebrated the Matronalia in honor of the women who put an end to the Sabine war (*bellum dirimente Sabine*, vi., 154). Cf. Ov., Fast., iii., 229. On this festival, as well as their birthdays, the Roman ladies sat up in state to receive presents from their husbands, lovers, and acquaintances (vid. Suet., Vesp., 19), in return for what they had given to the men on the Saturnalia. Cf. Mart., v., Ep. lxxxiv., 10, "Scis certè puto vestra jam venire Saturnalia Martias Kalendas." Hor., iii., Od. viii., 1, "Martii cælebs quid agam Kalendis."

<sup>4</sup> *Appula*. Cf. iv., 27. *Milvos*.

"Regions which such a tract of land embrace,

That kites are tired within the unmeasured space." Gifford.

<sup>5</sup> *Trifolinus ager*. Cf. Mart., xiii., Ep. 114, "Non sum de primo fateor, Trifolina, Lyæo; inter vina tamen septima vitis ero." Trifoline wines were so called from being fit to drink at the third appearance of the leaf, "quæ tertio anno ad bibendum tempestiva forent." Plin., xiv., 6. Facc. takes it from Trifolium, a mountain in Campania, perhaps near Capua. Plin., iv., 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Suspectumque jugum*. Either Mons Misenus (cf. Virg., *Æn.*, vi., 234), only three miles from Cumæ, or Vesuvius, which was famous for its wines. Mart., iv., Ep. 44. Virg., *Georg.*, ii., 224. Gaurus, now Monte Barbaro, is full of volcanic caverns. It is also called "Girro."

<sup>7</sup> *Plura*.

"Though none drinks less, yet none more vessels fills!" Dryden.

worn out in your service, with a few acres? Would you rustic child, with his mother, and her hovel,<sup>1</sup> and his playmate cur, more justly become the inheritance of your cymbal-beating friend? "You are a most importunate beggar!" he says: But *Rent* cries out to me "Beg!" My only slave calls on me to beg! loudly as Polyphemus<sup>2</sup> with his one broad eye, by which the crafty Ulysses made his escape. I shall be compelled to buy a second, for this one is not enough for me; both must be fed. What shall I do in mid-winter? When the chill north wind whistles in December,<sup>3</sup> what shall I say, pray, to my poor slaves' naked feet and shoulders? "Courage,<sup>4</sup> my boys! and wait for the grasshoppers?" But however you may dissemble and pass by all other matters, at how much do you estimate it, that had I not been your devoted client your wife would still remain a maid? At all events, you know all about those services, how hard you begged, how much you promised! Often when your young wife was eloping, I caught her in my embrace. She had actually torn<sup>5</sup> the marriage contract, and was on the point of signing a new one. It was with difficulty that I set

<sup>1</sup> *Casulis*. Cf. xi., 153, "notos desiderat hædos."

"Sure yonder female with the child she bred,  
The dog their playmate, and their little shed,  
Had with more justice been conferr'd on me,  
Than on a cymbal-beating debauchee." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Polyphemi*. For the loudness of his roar, vid. Virg., *Æn.*, iii., 672. The meaning seems to be, "I am as badly off with but one slave as Polyphemus was with only one eye: had he had *two* Ulysses would not have escaped him." Badham takes it of the slave calling for food.

"My hungry rascal must at home be fed,  
Or else, like Polypheme, he'll roar for bread!"

<sup>3</sup> *Decembri*, used here adjectively.

<sup>4</sup> *Durate*. A parody on Virg., *Æn.*, i., 207, "*Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.*" Cf. Suet., *Cal.*, 45.

"Cold! never mind! a month or two, and then  
The grasshoppers, my lads, will come again!" Badham.

<sup>5</sup> *Ruperat*. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xi., 30, "At is redderet uxorem, rumpe-retque tabulas nuptiales." There was an express clause in the marriage contract, "liberorum procreandorum gratiâ uxorem duci."

this matter right by a whole night's work, while you stood whimpering outside the door. I appeal to the bed as my witness! nay, to yourself, who heard the noise, and the lady's cries! In many a house, when the marriage bonds were growing feeble and beginning to give way, and were almost severed, an adulterer has set all matters right. However you may shift your ground, whatever services you may reckon first or last, is it indeed no obligation, ungrateful and perfidious man! is it none, that you have an infant son or daughter born to you through me? For you bring them up as yours! and plume yourself on inserting at intervals in the public registers<sup>1</sup> these evidences of your virility. Hang garlands<sup>2</sup> on your doors! You are now a father! I have given you what you may cast in slander's teeth! You have a father's privileges; through me you may inherit a legacy, yes, the whole sum<sup>3</sup> left to you, not to mention some pleas-

<sup>1</sup> *Libris actorum*. Cf. Tac., Ann., iii., 3. Sat. ii., 136, "cupient et in acta referri." These acta were public registers, in which parents were obliged to insert the names of their children a few days after their birth. They contained, besides, records of marriages, divorces, deaths, and other occurrences of the year, and were therefore of great service to historians, who as some think employed persons to read them up for them. (Cf. acta legenti vii., 104.) Servius Tullius instituted this custom. The records were kept in the temple of Saturn.

<sup>2</sup> *Suspende coronas*. This was customary on all festive occasions, as here, on the birth of a child; at marriages (vi., 51, "Necte coronam postibus, et densos per limina tende corymbos"), the return of friends (cf. xii., 91, "Longos erexit janua ramos"), or any public rejoicing (as x., 65, on the death of Sejanus, "Pone domi lauros"). So, when advocates gained a cause, their clients adorned the entrance of their houses with palm branches. Cf. vii., 118, "virides scalarum gloria palmæ." Mart., vii., Ep. xxviii., 6, "excolat et geminas plurima palma fores."

<sup>3</sup> *Legatum omne*. One of the provisions of the Lex Papia Poppæa (introduced, at the desire of Augustus, to extend the Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus) was, that if a married person had no child, a tenth, and in some cases a larger proportion, of what was bequeathed him, should fall to the exchequer. Cf. vi., 38. It conferred also certain privileges and immunities on those who in Rome had three children (hence jus trium liberorum) born in wedlock. Cf. Ruperti and Lips. ad Tac., Ann., iii., 25. Cf. Ann., xv., 19. Mart., ii., Ep. xci., 6; ix., lxxvii.

ant windfall !<sup>1</sup> Besides many other advantages will be added to these windfalls, if I make the number complete and add a third !

“Your ground of complaint is just indeed, Nævulus ; what does he allege in answer ?”

/ “He casts me off, and looks out for some other two-legged ass to serve his turn ! But remember that these secrets are intrusted to you alone ; keep them to yourself, therefore, buried in the silence of your own breast ; for one of these pumice-smoothed<sup>2</sup> fellows is a deadly thing if he becomes your enemy. He that intrusted his secret to me but the other day, now is furious, and detests me just as though I had divulged all I know. He does not hesitate to use his dagger, to break my skull with a bludgeon, or place a firebrand at my doors :<sup>3</sup> and deem it no light or contemptible matter that to men of his wealth the price of poison is never too costly. Therefore you must keep my secrets as religiously as the court of Mars at Athens.”

“Oh ! Corydon,<sup>4</sup> poor simple Corydon ! Do you think aught that a rich man does can be secret ? Even though his slaves<sup>5</sup> should hold their tongues, his cattle will tell the tale ; and his dogs, and door-posts, and marble statues ! Close the shutters, cover all the chinks with tapestry, fasten the doors, remove every light from the chamber,<sup>5</sup> let each one keep his counsel, let not a soul lie near. Yet what he

<sup>1</sup> *Caducum*, probably a legacy contingent upon the condition of having children.

<sup>2</sup> *Pumice*. Cf. viii., 16, “*tenerum attritus Catanensi pumice lumbum*.”

<sup>3</sup> *Valvis*. Cf. xiii. 145, *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Corydon*. Cf. Virg., *Ecl.*, ii., 69, “Ah, Corydon, Corydon, quæ te dementia cepit !” and 56, “*Rusticus es, Corydon !*”

<sup>5</sup> *Claude fenestras*.

“Bolt every door, stop every cranny tight,  
Close every window, put out every light ;  
Let not a whisper reach the listening ear,  
No noise, no motion—let no soul be near.” Gifford.



does at the second cock-crow,<sup>1</sup> the next tavern-keeper will know before dawn of day; and will hear as well all the fabrications of his steward, cooks, and carvers.<sup>2</sup> For what charge do they scruple to concoct against their masters, as often as they revenge themselves for their strappings<sup>3</sup> by the lies they forge? Nor will there be wanting one to hunt you out against your will in the public thoroughfares, and pour his drunken tale into your miserable ears. Therefore ask them what you just now begged of me! They hold their tongues! Why they would rather blaze abroad a secret than drink as much Falernian (all the sweeter because stolen) as Saufeia<sup>4</sup> used to drink, when sacrificing<sup>5</sup> for the people!

One should lead an upright life for very many reasons; but especially for this—that you may be able to despise your servants' tongues. For bad as your slave may be, his tongue is the worst part about him. Yet far worse still is he that places himself in the power of those whose body and soul he keeps together with his own bread and his own money.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gallicinium* was the technical name for the second military watch, Vid. Facc.

<sup>2</sup> *Carptores*, Grangæus explains by "Escuiers trenchants." Facc. by *δαυρός* and structor.

<sup>3</sup> *Balteæ*. "For countless scourgings will the rogues be slack  
In slanderous villainies to pay thee back?" Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Saufeia*, or Laufella, is supposed to be the "conjux Fusci," mentioned xii., 45, and Mart., iii., Ep. 72; and whose other debaucheries are mentioned vi., 320. Cicero, knowing the propensity of his country-women to wine-bibbing, would exclude them from officiating at any sacred rites (at which wine was always used) after nightfall. The festival of the Bona Dea is the only exception he would make, "Nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunt præter olla quæ pro populo rite fiant."

<sup>5</sup> *Faciens*; so *operatur*, xii., 92. Virg., Ecl., iii., 77, "Cum faciam vitulâ pro fugibus ipse venito." So Georg., i., 339, "Sacra refer Cereri lætis operatis in herbis." So in Greek, *πέσειν* is constantly used absolutely.

"For more stolen wine than late Saufeia boused,  
When, for the people's welfare, she caroused!" Gifford.

<sup>6</sup> *Liber*. "Yet worse than they, the man whose vicious deeds  
Makes him still tremble at the rogues he feeds." Bad.

"Well, the advice you have just given me to enable me to laugh to scorn my servants' tongues is very good, but too general. Now, what do you advise in my particular case, after the loss of my time and the disappointment of my hopes? For the short-lived bloom<sup>1</sup> and contracted span of a brief and wretched life is fast fleeting away! While we are drinking,<sup>2</sup> and calling for garlands, and perfumes, and women, old age steals on us unperceived! Do not be alarmed! So long as these seven hills stand fast you will never lack a pathic friend. Those effeminate, who scratch their heads with one finger,<sup>3</sup> will flock from all quarters to these hills, in carriages and ships. You have still another and a better hope in store. All you have to do is to chew eringo vigorously." "Tell this to luckier wights! My Clotho and Lachesis are well content, if I can earn a subsistence by my vile labors. Oh! ye small Lares,<sup>4</sup> that call me master, whom I supplicate with a fragment of frankincense, or meal, and a poor garland, when shall I secure<sup>5</sup> a sum that may insure my old age against the beggar's mat and crutch? Twenty thousand sesterces as interest, with good security for the principal; some small vessels of silver not enchased, but such as Fabricius,<sup>6</sup> if censor, would con-

<sup>1</sup> *Flosculus*. For many exquisite parallel passages to this, see Gifford's note.

<sup>2</sup> *Dum bibimus*.

"And while thou call'st for garlands, girls, and wine,  
Comes stealthy age, and bids thee all resign." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Digito*. Effeminate wretches, who, as Holydays says, like women, are afraid of touching their heads with more than a finger, for fear of discomposing their curls. Pompey had this charge brought against him by one Calvus; and cf. Plut. in Vit., 48. Amm. Marcell. XVII., xi.

<sup>4</sup> *Lares*, cf. xii., 87. Hor., iii., Od. xxiii., 15, "Parvos coronantem marino Rore Deos, fragilique myrto." Plin., xi., 2, "Numa instituit deos fruge colere, et mola salsa supplicare et far torrere."

<sup>5</sup> *Figam*, a metaphor from hunting.—*Tegete*, cf. v., 8, "Nusquam pons et tegetis pars."—*Baculo*, cf. Ter., Heaut., V., i., 58.

<sup>6</sup> C. Fabricius Luscinus, when censor, removed from the senate P. Cornelius Rufinus, who had been twice consul and once dictator, for

demn; and two sturdy Mœsian slaves,<sup>1</sup> who, bearing me on their shoulders, might bid me stand without inconvenience in the noisy circus! Let me have besides an engraver stooping<sup>2</sup> over his work, and another who may with all speed paint<sup>3</sup> me a row of portraits. This is quite enough—since poor I ever shall be. A poor, wretched wish indeed! and yet I have no hope even of this! For when dame Fortune<sup>4</sup> is invoked for me, she stops her ears with wax fetched from that ship which escaped the Sirens' songs with its deaf rower.

having in his possession more than ten pounds' weight of plate. Liv., Epit., xiv. He was censor A.U.C. 478. Cf. xi., 90, *seq.*

<sup>1</sup> *Duo fortes*. Persons of moderate fortune rode in their *sella gestatoria*, a sedan borne by two persons. The rich had litters or palanquins, called hexaphori, or octophori, according to the number of the lecticarii. Cf. i., 64. Mœsia, now Bulgaria and Servia, is said to have been famous for producing these brawny chairmen.

<sup>2</sup> *Curvus*. So Lubinus interprets it. "Cum enim laborat se incurvat." Cf. Virg., Eccl., iii., 42, "curvus arator;" so Art., Am., ii., 670, "Curva senectus." Or from his assiduity, "qui assiduus in opere est." Madan says, "Curvus means crooked, that hath turnings and windings; and this latter, in a mental sense, denotes cunning, which is often used for *skillful*." Cf. Exod., xxxviii., 23. The old Schol. explains it by Anaglyptarius, "a carver in low relief."

<sup>3</sup> *Pingit*. Others read *fingit*, and interpret it of "plaster casts." It probably refers to the "line of painted busts" to deck his corridor, perhaps of fictitious ancestors. Cf. viii., 2, "Pictosque ostendere vultus majorum."

<sup>4</sup> *Fortuna*.

"For when to Fortune I prefer my prayers,  
The obdurate goddess stops at once her ears;  
Stops with that wax which saved Ulysses' crew,  
When by the Syrens' rocks and songs they flew." Gifford.

## SATIRE X.

## ARGUMENT.

THE subject of this inimitable Satire is the vanity of human wishes. From the principal events of the lives of the most illustrious characters of all ages, the poet shows how little happiness is promoted by the attainment of what our indistinct and limited views represent as the greatest of earthly blessings. Of these he instances wealth, power, eloquence, military glory, longevity, and personal accomplishments: all of which, he shows, have proved dangerous or destructive to their respective possessors. Hence he argues the wisdom of acquiescing in the dispensations of Heaven; and concludes with a form of prayer, in which he points out with great force and beauty the objects for which a rational being may presume to approach the Almighty.

IN all the regions which extend from Gades<sup>1</sup> even to the farthest east and Ganges, there are but few that can discriminate between real blessings and those that are widely different, all the mist<sup>2</sup> of error being removed. For what is there that we either fear or wish for, as reason would direct? What is there that you enter on under such favorable auspices, that you do not repent of your undertaking, and the accomplishment of your wish? The too easy gods have overthrown<sup>3</sup> whole families by granting their owners' prayers. Our prayers are put up for what will injure us in peace and

<sup>1</sup> *Gadibus*. Gades, now Cadiz, and Ganges were the western and eastern boundaries of the then known world.

<sup>2</sup> *Nebulâ*. Cf. Plat., *Alcib.*, ii., τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφελόντα τὴν ἀχλύν; from which many ideas in this Satire, particularly toward the close, are borrowed.

"As treacherous phantoms in the mist delude,

Shuns fancied ills, or chases airy good." Johnson's imitation.

<sup>3</sup> *Evertere*. These are almost Cicero's own words. "*Cupiditates non modo singulos homines sed universas familias evertunt*," de Fin., i. Cf. Shakspeare:

"We, ignorant of ourselves,  
Beg often our own harms, which the wise powers  
Deny us for our good: so find we profit  
By losing of our prayers."

injure us in war. To many the copious fluency<sup>1</sup> of speech, and their very eloquence, is fatal. It was owing to his strength<sup>2</sup> and wondrous muscle, in which he placed his trust, that the Athlete met his death. But money heaped up with overwhelming care, and a revenue surpassing all common patrimonies as much as the whale of Britain<sup>3</sup> exceeds dolphins, causes more to be strangled. Therefore it was, that in that reign of Terror, and at Nero's bidding, a whole cohort<sup>4</sup> blockaded Longinus<sup>5</sup> and the spacious gardens of the over-wealthy Seneca,<sup>6</sup> and laid siege to the splendid<sup>7</sup> mansion of the Laterani.<sup>8</sup> It is but rarely that the soldier pays his visit to a garret. Though you are conveying ever so few vessels of unembossed silver, entering on your journey by night, you will dread the bandit's knife and bludgeon, and tremble at the shadow of a reed as it quivers in

<sup>1</sup> *Torrens*.

"Some who the depths of eloquence have found,  
In that unnavigable stream were drown'd." Dryden.

<sup>2</sup> *Viribus*. Roscommon, as Gifford says, tells his history in two lines:

"Remember Milo's end,

Wedge'd in the timber which he strove to rend."

Cf. Ovid, *Ib.*, 609, "Utque Milon robur diducere fissile tentes, nec pos-  
sitis captas inde referre manus."

<sup>3</sup> *Balæna Britannica*. Cf. Hor., *iv.*, *Od.* xiv., 47, "Te belluosus qui remotis obstreper Oceanus Britannis." There is probably an allusion here to the large sums which Seneca had out at interest in Britain, where his rigor in exacting his demands occasioned a rebellion.

<sup>4</sup> *Tota cohors*. "Illo propinquâ vespërâ, tribunus venit, et villam globus militum sepsit." Tac., *Ann.*, xv., 60.

<sup>5</sup> *Longinum*. Cassius Longinus was charged with keeping among his Imagines one of Cassius, Cæsar's murderer; and allowed an hour to die in. Suet., *Ner.*, 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Seneca*. Rufus and Tigellinus charged Seneca "tanquam ingentes et privatum suprâ modum evectas opes adhuc augeret—hortorum quoque amœnitate et villarum magnificentiâ quasi Principem supergrederetur;" and Seneca himself, in his speech to Nero, says, "Tantum honorum atque opûm in me cumulâsti, ut nihil felicitati meæ desit." Tacit., *Ann.*, xiv., 52, *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Puri*. Cf. *ix.*, 141.

<sup>8</sup> *Lateranorum*. Vid. Tac., *Ann.*, xv., 60, for the death of Plautius Lateranus. His house was on the Cœlian Hill, on the site of the modern Lateran.

the moonshine.<sup>1</sup> The traveler with empty<sup>2</sup> pockets will sing even in the robber's face.

The prayers that are generally the first put up and best known in all the temples are, that riches,<sup>3</sup> that wealth may increase; that our chest may be the largest in the whole forum.<sup>4</sup> But no aconite is drunk from earthenware. It is time to dread it when you quaff jeweled cups,<sup>5</sup> and the ruddy Setine blazes in the broad gold. And do you not, then, now commend the fact, that of the two sages,<sup>6</sup> one used to laugh<sup>7</sup> whenever he had advanced a single step from his threshold; the other, with sentiments directly contrary, used to weep. But easy enough to any one is the stern censure of a sneering laugh: the wonder is how the other's eyes could ever have a sufficient supply of tears.<sup>8</sup> Democritus used to shake

<sup>1</sup> *Motæ ad Lunam.* Cf. Hor., i., Od. xxiii., 3, "Non sine vano aurarum et siluæ metu." Stat., Theb., vi., 158, "Impulsæque noto frondes cassusque valeret exanimare timor." Claud., Eutrop., ii., 452, "Ecce levis frondes a tergo concutit aura: credit tela Leo: valuit pro vulnere terror."

<sup>2</sup> *Vacuus.* Cf. Ov., Nux., 43, "Sic timet insidias qui scit se ferre viator cur timeat, tutum carpit inanis iter." Sen., Lucil., "Nudum Latro transmittit."

"While void of care the beggar trips along,

And, in the spoiler's presence, trolls his song." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Divitiæ.* Vid. Cic., "Expetuntur Divitiæ ut utare; Opes ut colaris: Honores ut lauderis." De Amicit., vi.

<sup>4</sup> *Foro.* The public treasure was in the temple of Saturn. Private individuals had their money in strong boxes deposited in the Forum Trajani, or Forum Augusti; in the temple of Mars "Ultor" originally; afterward in the temple of Castor and others, probably of Pax. Cf. xiv., 259, "Æratâ multus in arcâ fiscus, et ad vigilem ponendi Cartora nummi." Cf. Suet., Jul., x. Pliny the Younger was once præfectus ærarii Saturni.

<sup>5</sup> *Gemmata.* Cf. v., 39, 41.—*Setinum*, v., 34.

"Fear the gemm'd goblet, and suspicious hold

The ruby juice that glows in cups of gold." Badham.

<sup>6</sup> *De Sapientibus.* Democritus of Abdera, and Heraclitus of Ephesus.

<sup>7</sup> *Ridebat.* Cf. Hor., ii., Ep. i., 194, "Si foret in terris rideret Democritus." δεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ Ἡρακλείτου ἢ Δημοκρίτου, τοῦ μὲν γελασμένου τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὀδυρομένου. Luc., βι. πρ., 13, τὸν γελῶντα, τὸν Ἀβδηρόθεν καὶ τὸν κλισίοντα τὸν ἐξ Ἐφέσου.

<sup>8</sup> "The marvel this, since all the world can sneer,

What fountains fed the ever-needed tear." Badham.



his sides with perpetual laughter, though in the cities of those regions there were no *prætextæ*, no *trabææ*,<sup>1</sup> no fasces, no litter, no tribunal! What, had he seen the *prætor*<sup>2</sup> standing pre-eminent in his lofty car, and raised on high in the mid dust of the circus, dressed in the tunic of Jove, and wearing on his shoulders the Tyrian hangings of the embroidered toga; and the circlet of a ponderous crown,<sup>3</sup> so heavy that no single neck could endure the weight:<sup>4</sup> since the official, all in a sweat, supports it, and, that the consul may not be too elated, the slave rides in the same car. Then, add the bird that rises from his ivory sceptre: on one side the trumpeters; on the other, the long train of attendant clients, that march before him, and the Quirites, all in white togas, walking by his horses' heads; men whose friendship he has won by the sportula buried deep in his chest. Even in those days *he* found subject for ridicule in every place where human beings meet, whose wisdom proves that men of the highest intellect, men that will furnish noble examples, may be born in the country of wether-sheep, and in a foggy<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Trabææ*. Cf. ad viii., 259.

<sup>2</sup> *Prætor*. Juvenal has mixed up together the procession of the prætor to open the Circensian games, and a triumphal procession. The latter proceeded through the principal streets to the Capitol. The former, from the Capitol to the centre of the circus. The triumphal car was in the shape of a turret, gilded, and drawn by four white horses: it often occurs on coins. The tunica palmata, worn by generals in their triumph, was kept in the temple of Jupiter. The toga picta was purple, and so heavily embroidered that it may well be compared to a brocaded curtain. Tyre was anciently called Sarra, which may be traced in its modern name Sur.

"His robe a ponderous curtain of brocade,  
Inwrought and stiff by Tyrian needles' aid." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Orbem*. Probably an allusion to Atlas.

<sup>4</sup> *Sufficit*.

"And would have crush'd it with the massy freight,  
But that a sweating slave sustain'd the weight." Dryden.

Probably the crown was *not* worn, but merely *held* by the slave at his side.

"The menial destined in his car to ride,  
And cool the swelling consul's feverish pride." Hodgson.

<sup>5</sup> *Crasso*. "Boeotum in crasso jurares aere natum." Hor., ii., Ep. i.,

atmosphere. He used to laugh at the cares and also the joys of the common herd; sometimes even at their tears: while he himself would bid Fortune, when she frowned, "Go hang!" and point at her his finger<sup>1</sup> in scorn! Superfluous therefore, or else destructive, are all those objects of our prayers, for which we think it right to cover the knees of the gods with waxen tablets.<sup>2</sup>

Power, exposed to great envy, hurls some headlong down to ruin. The long and splendid list of their titles and honors sinks<sup>3</sup> into the dust. Down come their statues,<sup>4</sup> and are dragged along with ropes: then the weary wheels of the chariot are smashed by the vigorous stroke of the axe, and the legs of the innocent<sup>5</sup> horses are demolished. Now the fires roar! Now that head, once worshiped<sup>6</sup> by the mob, glows with the bellows and the furnace! Great Sejanus crackles! Then from that head, second only in the whole wide world, are made pitchers, basins, frying-pans,<sup>7</sup> and

244. Bœotia was called the land of fogs, which so much annoyed Pindar. Vid. Ol., vi., 152. Abdera seems to have had as bad a name. Cf. Mart., x., Ep. xxv., 3, "Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes."

<sup>1</sup> *Medium unguem*. Hence called "Infamis digitus." Pers., ii., 33. Cf. Mart., ii. Ep., xxviii., 2, "digitum porrigito medium." VI., Ep. lxx., 5, "Ostendit digitum impudicum."

<sup>2</sup> *Incerare*. They used to fasten their vows, written on wax tablets, to the knees or thighs of the gods. When their wishes were granted, these were replaced by the offerings they had vowed. Cf. Hom., II., p., 514, θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείρας.

<sup>3</sup> *Mergit*. Cf. Sil., viii., 285; or *mergit* may be used *actively*, as xiii., 8. Lucr., v., 1006. Virg., Æn., vi., 512.

<sup>4</sup> *Statuæ*. Cf. ad vii., 18. Tac., Ann., vi., 2. Plin., Pan., 52, "Juvabat illidere solo superbissimos vultus, instare ferro, sævire securibus, ut si singulos ictus sanguis dolorque sequeretur"—"instar ultionis videretur cernere imagines abjectas excultasque flammis."

<sup>5</sup> *Immeritis*. "The driven axe destroys the conquering car, And unoffending steeds the ruin share." Hodgson.

<sup>6</sup> *Adoratum*. Cf. Tac., Ann., iii., 72; iv., 2, "Coli per theatra et fora effigies ejus sineret. Vid. Suet., Tib., lv., 48, "Solæ nullam Sejani imaginem inter signa coluissent." 65, "Sejani imagines aureas coli passim videret."

<sup>7</sup> *Sartago*.

"And from the stride of those colossal legs

You buy the useful pan that fries your eggs." Badham.  
Dryden reads "matellæ."

platters ! “Crown your doors with bays !<sup>1</sup> Lead to Jove’s Capitol a huge and milk-white ox ! Sejanus is being dragged along by the hook ! a glorious sight !” Every body is delighted. “What lips he had ! and what a face ? If you believe me, I never could endure this man !” “But what was the charge under which he fell ! Who was the accuser ? what the information laid ? By whose witness did he prove it ?” “Nothing of the sort ! a wordy and lengthy epistle came from Capreæ.” “That’s enough ! I ask no farther. But how does the mob of Remus behave !” “Why, follow Fortune,<sup>2</sup> as mobs always do, and hate him that is condemned ?” That self-same people, had Tuscan Nurscia<sup>3</sup> smiled propitious on her countryman—had the old age of the emperor been crushed while he thought all secure—would in that very hour have saluted Sejanus as Augustus. Long ago they have thrown overboard all anxiety. For that sovereign people that once gave away military command, consulships, legions, and every thing, now bridles its desires, and limits its anxious longings to two things only—bread, and the games of the circus ! “I hear that many are involved in his fall.” “No doubt : the little furnace<sup>4</sup> is a capacious one ; I met my friend Brutidius<sup>5</sup> at the altar of

<sup>1</sup> *Pone domi lauros.* Cf. ad ix., 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Sequitur Fortunam.*

“When the king’s *trump*, the mob are for the king.” Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Nurscia*, Nyrtria, Nortia, or Nurtia, the Etruscan goddess of Fortune, nearly identical with Atropos, and cognate with Minerva. The old Schol. says, “Fortuna apud Nyrtriam colitur unde fuit *Sejanus*.” But Tacitus tells us (Ann., iv., 1 ; vi., 8) that Sejanus was a native of Volsinii, now Bolsena. Outside the Florence gate of Bolsena stands the ruin of a temple still called Tempio di Norzia. Cf. Liv., vii., 3 ; Tertull., Apoll., 24, ad Nat., ii., 8 ; Müller’s Etrusker, IV., vii., 6 ; Dennis’s Etruria, i., p. 258, 509.

<sup>4</sup> *Fornacula.* “A fire so fierce for one was scarcely made.” Gifford.

<sup>5</sup> *Brutidius.* Tacitus speaks thus of him : “Brutidium artibus, honestis copiosum et, si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quæque iturum festinatio exstimulabat, dum æquales, dein superiores, postremo suamet ipse spes anteire parat.” Ann., iii., 66. He had been one of the accusers of Silanus, and was involved in Sejanus’ fall.

Mars looking a little pale !” “But I greatly fear that Ajax, being baffled,<sup>1</sup> will wreak fearful vengeance, as having been inadequately defended. Let us rush headlong ; and, while he still lies on the river-bank, trample on Cæsar’s foe ? But take care that our slaves witness the act ! lest any of them should deny it, and drag his master to trial with a halter round his neck !” Such were the conversations then about Sejanus ; such the smothered whispers of the populace ? Would *you* then have the same court paid to you that Sejanus had ? possess as much, bestow on one the highest curule honors, give another the command of armies,<sup>2</sup> be esteemed the lawful guardian<sup>3</sup> of the prince that lounged away<sup>4</sup> his days with his herd of Chaldean astrologers, in the rock of Capreæ that he made his palace<sup>5</sup> Would you have centuries and cohorts, and a picked body of cavalry,<sup>6</sup> and prætorian bands at your beck ? Why should you not covet

“Magna est fornacula” is well borne out by Tacitus’ account. “Cunctos qui carcere attinebantur, accusati societatis cum Sejano, necari jubet. *Jacuit immensa strages*; omnis sexus omnis ætas: illustres ignobiles—corpora adsectabantur dum in Tiberim traherentur.” Ann., vi., 19.

<sup>1</sup> *Victus*. Fierce as Ajax, when worsted in the contest for the arms of Achilles.

<sup>2</sup> *Exercitibus præponere*. Vid. Tac., Ann., iv., 2, “Centuriones ac Tribunos ipse deligere : neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornando, facili Tiberio atque ita prono ut socium laborum celebraret.”

<sup>3</sup> *Tutor*.

“Arraign

Thy feeble sovereign in a guardian’s strain,  
Who sits amid his foul Chaldæan herd

In that august domain to Rome prefer’d.” Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Sedentis*. Cf. Suet., Tib., 43; Tac., Ann., vi., 1. Grangæus supposes this word to have reference to the Sellaria there described. It probably only refers to his luxury and indolence. Tiberius was with Augustus when he visited Capreæ shortly before his death: “remisissimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo. Vicinam Capreis insulam ἀπραγοπóλιν appellabat à desidiâ secedentium illuc e comitatu suo.” Cf. c. 40. Tac., Ann., iv., 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Augusta*. The old reading was angustâ. The alteration of a single letter converts a forceless expletive into an epithet full of picturesque and historic truth.

<sup>6</sup> *Egregios equites*. The flower of the Roman army, the prætorian troops, of which Sejanus was præfect.

these? Even those who have not the *will* to kill a man would gladly have the *power*. But what brilliant or prosperous fortune is of sufficient worth that your measure of evils should balance your good luck? Would you rather put on the *prætexta* of him that is being dragged along, or be the magistrate of Fidenæ or Gabii, and give sentence about false weights,<sup>1</sup> and break up scanty measures as the ragged *ædile* of the deserted Ulubræ?<sup>2</sup> You acknowledge, therefore, that Sejanus did not know what ought to have been the object of his wishes. For he that coveted excessive honors, and prayed for excessive wealth, was but rearing up the multiplied stories of a tower raised on high, only that the fall might be the deeper,<sup>3</sup> and horrible the headlong descent of his ruin<sup>4</sup> once accelerated!

What overthrew the Crassi?<sup>5</sup> and Pompey and his sons?<sup>6</sup> and him that brought Rome's haughty citizens quailing<sup>7</sup> beneath his lash? Surely it was the post of highest advancement, reached by every possible device, and prayers for

<sup>1</sup> *Vasa minora*.

"To pound false weights and scanty measures break." Dryden.

<sup>2</sup> *Ulubris*. Cf. Hor., i., Ep. xi., 30, "Est Ulubris, animus si non tibi deficit æquus." Another joke at the expense of the plebeian *ædiles* (cf. iii., 162), who had the charge of inspecting weights and measures, markets and provisions, roads, theatres, etc. These functionaries still exist (as Gifford says), "as ragged and consequential" as ever, in the Italian villages, retaining their old name of *Podestà*.

"Deal out the law, and curb with high decree

The tricks of trade at empty Ulubræ." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Altior*. The idea is probably borrowed from Menander, *ἐπαιρητάι γὰρ μείζον, ἵνα μείζον πέρη*. So hence Horace ii., Od. x., 10, "*Celsæ graviore casu decidunt turres*." So Claudian in Rufin, i., 22, "*Tolluntur in altum ut lapsu graviore ruant*;" and Shakspeare, "Raised up on high to be hurl'd down below."

<sup>4</sup> *Ruinæ*. So Milton. "With hideous *ruin* and combustion down."

C. Badham.

<sup>5</sup> *Crassos*. M. Licinius Crassus and his son Publius; both killed in the Parthian war.

<sup>6</sup> *Pompeios*. Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and his two sons, Cnæus and Sextus.

<sup>7</sup> *Domitos*.

"The stubborn pride of Roman nobles broke,

And bent their haughty necks beneath his yoke." Dryden.

greatness heard by gods who showed their malignity in granting them ! Few kings go down without slaughter and wounds to Ceres' son-in-law. Few tyrants die a bloodless death !

He that as yet pays court to<sup>1</sup> Minerva, purchased by a single *as*, that is followed by his little slave<sup>2</sup> to take charge of his diminutive satchel, begins to long, and longs through all his quinquatrian<sup>3</sup> holidays, for the eloquence and the renown of Demosthenes or Cicero. But it was through their eloquence that both of these orators perished : the copious and overflowing fount of talent gave over each to destruction ; by talent was his hand and head cut off ! Nor did the Rostra<sup>4</sup> ever reek with the blood of a contemptible pleader.

“O fortunate Rome, whose natal day may date from me

<sup>1</sup> *Colit.* Ov., Fast., iii., 816, “Qui benè placârit Pallada doctus erit.”

<sup>2</sup> *Vernula.* This slave was called Capsarius. Suet., Ner., 36. Cf. ad vi., 451.

<sup>3</sup> *Quinquatribus.* Cf. Hor., ii., Ep. ii., 197, “Puer ut festis quinquatribus olim.” This festival originally lasted only *one* day; and was celebrated xiv. Kal. April. It was so called “quia *post diem quintum* Idus Martias ageretur.” So “*post diem sextum*,” was called Sexatrus ; and “*post diem septimum*,” Septimatrus. Varro, L. L., v., 3. It was afterward *extended* to five days; hence the “*vulgus*” supposed that to have been the origin of the name; and so Ovid takes it, “*Nominaque a junctis quinque diebus habet*,” Fast., iii., 809; who says it was kept in honor of Minerva's natal day, “*Causa quod est illâ nata Minerva die*,” l. 812. (Others say, because on that day her temple on Mount Aventine was consecrated.) Domitian kept the festival in great state at his Alban villa. Suet., Domit., iv. Cicero has a punning allusion to it. Vid. Fam., xii., 25. These five days were the schoolmasters' holidays; and on the first they received their pay, or entrance fee, *διδάκτρα*, hence called Minerval; though Horace seems to imply they were paid every month, “*Octonis referentes Idibus æra*.” l., Sat. vi., 75. The lesser Quinquatrus were on the Ides of June. Ov., Fast., vi., 651, “*Quinquatrus jubeor narrare minores*,” called also Quinquatrus Minusculæ.

<sup>4</sup> *Rostra.* Popilius Lenas, who cut off Cicero's head and hands, carried them to Antony, who rewarded him with a civic crown and a large sum of money, and ordered the head to be fixed between the hands to the Rostra. (For the name, vid. Liv., viii., 14.)



as consul !” He might have scorned the swords of Antony,<sup>1</sup> had all he uttered been such trash as this. I had rather write poems that excite only ridicule, than thee, divine Philippic of distinguished fame ! that art unrolled next to the first ! Cruel was the end that carried him off also whom Athens used to admire as his words flowed from his lips in a torrent<sup>2</sup> of eloquence, and he swayed at will the passions of the crowded theatre. With adverse gods and inauspicious fate was he born, whom his father, blear-eyed with the grime of the glowing mass, sent from the coal, and pincers,<sup>3</sup> and the sword-forging anvil, and sooty Vulcan,<sup>4</sup> to the rhetorician’s school !

The spoils of war, the cuirass fastened to the truncated<sup>5</sup> trophy, the check-piece hanging from the battered helm, the car shorn of its pole, the streamer of the captured galley,<sup>6</sup> and the sad captive on the triumphal arch-top,<sup>7</sup> are held to

<sup>1</sup> *Antonî Gladios*. Quoting Cicero’s own words, “Contempsî Catilinæ gladios, non pertimescam tuos.” Phil., ii., 46.

“For me, the sorriest rhymes I’d rather claim.

Than bear the brunt of that Phillippic’s fame,

The second! the divine !”

Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Torrentem*. So i., 9, “Torrens dicendi copia ;” iiii., 74, “Isæo torrentior.” At the approach of Antipater, Demosthenes fled from Athens, and took refuge in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, near Argolis ; and fearing to fall into the hands of Archias, took poison, which he carried about with him in a reed, or, as Pliny says, in a ring, xxxiii., i.

<sup>3</sup> *Forcipibus*. Cf Virg., *Æn.*, viii., 453, “Versantque tenaci forcipe massam.” Juvenal seems to have had the whole passage in his eye.

<sup>4</sup> *Vulcano*. Demosthenes’ father was a *μαχαιοποιός* ; in which capacity he employed a large number of slaves, *ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέλα καὶ δούλους τεχνίτας*. But as he could not afford to place his son under the costly Isocrates, he sent him to Isæus.

<sup>5</sup> *Truncis*. Virg. *Æn.*, xi., 5.

Ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis  
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,  
Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi magne tropæum  
Bellipotens: aptat rorantes sanguine cristas  
Telaque trunca viri.

<sup>6</sup> *Aplustre*, the *ἄπλαστον* of the Greeks was the high peak of the galley, from which rose the ensign.

<sup>7</sup> *Arcu*. Cf. Suet., Domit., 13, “Janos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos et tot exstruxit, ut

be goods exceeding all human blessings. For these each general, Roman, or Greek, or Barbarian, strains as his prize ! Full compensation for his dangers and his toils he sees in these ! So much greater is the thirst after fame than virtue. For who would embrace<sup>1</sup> virtue herself, if you took away the rewards of virtue ? And yet, ere now, the glory of a few has been the ruin of their native land ; that longing for renown, and those inscriptions that are to live on the marble that guards their ashes ; and yet to burst asunder this, the mischievous strength of the barren fig-tree has power enough. Since even to sepulchres<sup>2</sup> themselves are fates assigned. Weigh<sup>3</sup> the remains of Hannibal ! How many pounds will you find in that most consummate general ! This is the man whom not even Africa, lashed by the Mauritanian ocean, and stretching even to the steaming Nile, and then again to the races of the Æthiopes and their tall<sup>4</sup> elephants, can contain ! Spain is annexed to Carthage's domain. He bounds across the Pyrenees. Nature opposed in vain the Alps with all their snows ; he cleaves the rocks and rives the mountains with vinegar.<sup>5</sup> Now he is lord of Italy ! Yet still he presses

cuidam Græcè inscriptum sit, ἀρκεῖ—." Some think there is an allusion here to the column of Trajan, erected in honor of his Dacian victories. This would bring down the date of this Satire to after A.D. 113.

<sup>1</sup> *Amplectitur*. "That none confess fair Virtue's genuine power,  
Or woo her to their breast without a dower."

Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Sepulchris*; from Propertius, III., ii., 19, *seq.* So Ausonius, "*Mors etiam saxis, nominibusque venit.*"

"For fate hath foreordain'd its day of doom,

Not to the tenant only, but the tomb." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Expende*. "How are the mighty changed to dust ! how small  
The urn that holds what once was Hannibal !"

Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Altos*; others read *alios*; referring to the elephants of *Africa* as well as *Asia*. "*Elephantos fert Africa, ferunt Æthiopes et Troglodytæ: sed maximos India.*" Plin., viii., 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Aceto*. Vid. Liv., xxi., 37. Polybius omits the story as fabulous. There appears, now, no reason to doubt the fact.

on. "Naught is achieved,"<sup>1</sup> he says, "unless we burst through the gates of Rome with the soldiery of Carthage, and I plant my standard in the heart of the Suburra!" Oh what a face!<sup>2</sup> and worthy what a picture! when the huge Gætulian beast bore on his back the one-eyed<sup>3</sup> general! What then was the issue? Oh glory! This self-made man is conquered, and flees with head-long haste to exile, and there, a great and much-to-be-admired client, sits at the palace of the king, until his Bithynian majesty<sup>4</sup> be pleased to wake! To that soul, that once shook the very world's base, it is not sword, nor stone, nor javelin, that shall give the final stroke; but, that which atoned for Cannæ, and avenged such mighty carnage,<sup>5</sup> a ring! Go then, madman, and hurry over the rugged Alps, that you may be the delight of boys, and furnish subjects for declamations!<sup>6</sup>

One<sup>7</sup> world is not enough for the youth of Pella! He

<sup>1</sup> *Actum*. "Nil actum referens si quid superesset agendum."

"Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain;

"Think nothing gain'd," he cries, 'till naught remain;

On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,

And all be mine beheath the polar sky.'" Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> *Facies*.

"Oh! for some master-hand, the lines to trace." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Lusum*. Hannibal lost one eye, while crossing the marshes, in making his way to Etruria; "quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat altero oculo capitur;" he rode, Livy tells us, on his sole surviving elephant, xxii., 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Bithyno*. When accused by the Romans at Carthage, Hannibal fled to Antiochus, king of Syria, and thence to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, for whom he carried on successfully the war against Eumenes. But when Flaminius was sent to demand his surrender, he destroyed himself with poison, which he always carried in a ring.

<sup>5</sup> *Sanguinis*. Forty-five thousand dead were left on the field of Cannæ, with the Consul Æmilius Paulus, eighty senators, and very many others of high rank.

<sup>6</sup> *Declamatio*. Cf. vii., 167, "Sexta quâque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet." So l. 150, and i., 15.

"Go climb the rugged Alps, ambitious fool!

To please the boys, and be a theme at school." Dryden.

<sup>7</sup> *Unus*. "Heu me miserum! quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum!" is the exclamation put into Alexander's mouth by Val., Max., viii., 14.

chafes within the narrow limits of the universe, poor soul, as though confined in Gyarus's small rock, or scanty Seriphös. Yet when he shall have entered the city that the brick-makers<sup>2</sup> fortified, he will be content with a sarcophagus!<sup>3</sup> Death alone discloses how very small are the puny bodies of men! Men do believe that Athos was sailed through of yore; and all the bold assertions that lying Greeks hazard in history—that the sea was bridged over by the same fleets, and formed into a solid pavement for the transit of wheels. We believe that deep waters failed, and streams were druek dry<sup>4</sup> when the Persian dined; and that all the flights of Sos-tratus's<sup>5</sup> song, when his wings are moistened by the god of

<sup>1</sup> *Gyaris*. Cf. i., 73; vi., 563.

<sup>2</sup> *Figulis*. Cf. Herod., i., 78. Ov., Met., iv., 27, "Ubi dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem."

<sup>3</sup> *Sarcophago*. A stone was found at Assos, near Troy, which was said to possess the property of consuming the flesh of bodies inclosed in it within the space of forty days, hence called *σαρκοφάγος*. Plin., ii., 96; xxxvi., 17. Cf. Henry's speech to Hotspur's body:

"Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk!

When that this body did contain a spirit,

A kingdom for it was too small a bound;

But now, two paces of the vilest earth

Is room enough,"

So Hall: "Fond fool! six feet shall serve for all thy store,  
And he that cares for most shall find no more."

And Shirley:

"How little room do we take up in death,  
That, living, knew no bounds!"

And Webster's Duchess of Malfy:

"Much you had of land and rent:  
Your length in clays's now competent."

So K. Henry VI.: "And of all my lands

Is nothing left me but my body's length."

And Dryden's Antony:

"The place thou pressest on thy mother Earth  
Is all thy empire now."

Cf. Æsch., S. Theb., 731. Soph., Œd. Col., 789. Shakspeare's Richard II., Act. iii., sc. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Epota*. Herodotus mentions the Scamander, Onochnous, Apidanus, and Echedorus.

"Rivers, whose depth no sharp beholder sees.

Drunk at an army's dinner to the lees!" Dryden.

<sup>5</sup> *Sostratus*. Of this poet nothing is known.—*Madidis*, probably in the same sense as in Sat. xv., 47, "Facilis victoria de madidis." Sil. xii., 18, "Madefacta mero."

wine. And yet, in what guise did *he* return after quitting Salamis, who, like true barbarian as he was, used to vent his rage in scourges on Corus and Eurys, that had never suffered in this sort in Æolus' prison; and bound in gyves Ennosigæus<sup>1</sup> himself. It was, in fact, an act of clemency that he did not think he deserved branding<sup>2</sup> also. Would any of the gods chose to serve<sup>3</sup> such a man as this? But how did he return? Why, in a single ship; through waves dyed with blood, and with his galley retarded<sup>4</sup> by the shoals of corpses. Such was the penalty that glory, for which he had so often prayed, exacted.

"Grant length of life, great Jove, and many years!" This is your only prayer in health and sickness. But with what unremitting and greivous ills is old age crowded! First of all, its face is hideous, loathsome, and altered from its former self; instead of skin a hideous hide and flaccid cheeks; and see! such wrinkles, as, where Tabraca<sup>5</sup> extends her shady dells, the antiquated ape<sup>6</sup> scratches on her wizened jowl! There are many points of difference in the young: this youth is handsomer than that; and he again than a third: one is far

<sup>1</sup> *Ennosigæum*. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνόθελου τὴν ταῖαν. Cf. Hom., Il., vii., 455. *Æolis* is an allusion to Virgil, *Æn.*, i., 51, "Vinclis ac carcere frænat," etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Stigmatæ*. Herod., vii., 35.

"That shackles o'er th' earth-shaking Neptune threw,  
And thought it lenient not to brand him too." Gifford

<sup>3</sup> *Servire Decorum*. As Apollo served Admetus: Neptune, Laomedon, etc.

"Ye gods! obeyed ye such a fool as this?" Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Tardâ*. Perhaps alluding to Her., viii., 118.

"A single skiff to speed his flight remains,  
Th' encumbered oar scarce leaves the dreaded coast  
Through purple billows and a floating host" Johnson.

<sup>5</sup> *Tabraca*, on the coast of Tunis, now Tabarca.

<sup>6</sup> *Simia*. So Ennius, in Cic., Nat. De., i., 35, "Simia, quam similis turpissima bestia nobis!"

"A stick-fallen cheek! that hangs below the jaw,  
Such wrinkles as a skillful hand would draw,  
For an old grandam ape, when, with a grace,  
She sits at squat, and scrubs her leathern face." Dryden.

sturdier than another. Old men's faces are all alike—limbs tottering and voice feeble,<sup>1</sup> a smooth bald pate, and the second childhood of a driveling nose; the poor wretch must mumble his bread with toothless gums; so loathsome to his wife, his children, and even to himself, that he would excite the disgust even of the legacy-hunter Cossus! His palate<sup>2</sup> is grown dull; his relish for his food and wine<sup>3</sup> no more the same; the joys of love are long ago forgotten; and in spite of all efforts to reinvigorate them, all manly energies are hopelessly extinct. Has this depraved and hoary lechery aught else to hope? Do we not look with just suspicion on the lust that covets the sin but lacks the power?<sup>4</sup>

Now turn your eyes to the loss of another sense. For what pleasure has he in a singer, however eminent a harper it may be; nay, even Seleucus himself; or those whose habit it is to glitter in a cloak of gold?<sup>5</sup> What matters it in what part of the wide theatre he sits, who can scarcely hear the horn-blowers, and the general clang of trumpets? You must bawl out loud before his ear can distinguish who it is his slave says has called, or tells him what o'clock it is.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cum voce tremantia membra.* Compare Hamlet's speech to Polonius, and As you like it, Act ii., 7:

“His big manly voice,  
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes  
And whistles in its sound.”

“The self-same palsy both in limbs and tongue.” Dryden.

<sup>2</sup> *Palato.* Compare Barzillai's speech to David, 2 Sam., xix., 35, “I am this day fourscore years old; and can I discern between good or evil? can thy servant taste what I eat and what I drink? can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women?”

<sup>3</sup> *Vini.*

“Now pall the tasteless meats, and joyless wines,  
And Luxury with sighs her slave resigns.” Johnson.

<sup>4</sup> *Viribus.* Shakspeare, King Henry IV., Part ii., Act ii., sc. 4, “Is it not strange that desire should so many years outlive performance?”

<sup>5</sup> *Auratâ.* Cic. ad Heren., iv., 47, “*Ūti citharædus cum prodierit optimè vestitus, pallâ inauratâ indutus, cum chlamyde purpureâ coloribus variis intextâ, cum coronâ aureâ, magnis fulgentibus gemmis illuminatâ.*” Horace, A. P., 215, “Luxuriam addidi arti Tibicen, traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem.”

<sup>6</sup> *Nuntiet horas.* Slaves were employed to watch the dials in the



Besides, the scanty blood that flows in his chill<sup>1</sup> body is warmed by fever only. Diseases of every kind dance round him in full choir. If you were to ask their names, I could sooner tell you how many lovers Hippias had; how many patients Themison<sup>2</sup> killed in one autumn; how many allies Basilus plundered; how many wards Hirrus defrauded; how many lovers long Maura received in the day; how many pupils Hamillus corrupts. I could sooner run through the list of villas owned by him now, beneath whose razor<sup>3</sup> my stiff beard resounded when I was in my prime. One is weak in the shoulder; another in the loins; another in the hip. Another has lost both eyes, and envies the one-eyed. Another's bloodless lips receive their food from other's fingers. He that was wont to relax his features to a smile at the sight of his dinner, now only gapes<sup>4</sup> like the young swallow to whom the parent bird, herself fasting,<sup>5</sup> flies with full beak. But worse than all debility of limb is that idiocy which recollects neither the names of his slaves nor the face of the friend with whom he supped the evening before; not even those whom he begot and brought up! For by a heartless will he disinherits them; and all his property is made

houses of those who had them, and report the hour: those who had no dial sent to the Forum. Cf. Mart., viii., 67. Suet., Domit., xvi., "Sexta nuntiata est."

<sup>1</sup> *Gelido* Virg., *Æn.*, v., 395, "Sed enim *gelidus* tardante senectâ Sanguis hebet, frigentque effoetæ in corpore vires."

<sup>2</sup> *Themison* of Laodicea in Syria. pupil of Asclepiades, was an eminent physician of the time of Pompey the Great, and is said to have been the founder of the "Methodic" school, as opposed to the "Empiric." Vid. Cels., *Præf.* Plin., *N. H.* xxix., 15. Others say he lived in Augustus' time, and Hodgson thinks he may have lived even to Juvenal's days. Cicero (*de Orat.*, i., 14) mentions an Asclepiades; and the names of at least three others are mentioned in later times.

<sup>3</sup> *Quo tondente*. Cf. i., 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Hiat*. Cf. Lucian, *Tim.*, ἐμὲ περιμένονσι κεχηνότες ὥσπερ τὴν χελιδόνα προσπετομένην τετριγότες οἱ νεοσσοί. P. 72, E., ed. Bened.

<sup>5</sup> *Jejuna*, from Hom., *Il.*, ix., 323, ὥς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρῃσι μᾶστακ', ἐπεὶ κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δέ τέ οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ.

over to Phiale :<sup>1</sup>—such power has the breath of her artificial mouth, that stood for hire so many years in the brothel's dungeon.

Even though the powers of intellect retain their vigor, yet he must lead forth the funerals of his children ; must gaze upon the pyre of a beloved wife, and the urns filled with all that remains of his brother and sisters. This is the penalty imposed on the long-lived, that they must grow old with the death-blow in their house forever falling fresh—in oft-recurring sorrow—in unremitting mourning, and a suit of black.<sup>2</sup> The king of Pylos,<sup>3</sup> if you put any faith in great Homer, was an instance of life inferior in duration only to the crow's.<sup>4</sup> Happy, no doubt ! was he who for so many years put off his hour of death ; and now begins to count his years on his right hand,<sup>5</sup> and has drunk so often of the new-made wine. I pray you, lend me your ear a little space ; and hear how sadly he himself complains of the decrees of fate, and too great powers of life, when he watches the blazing beard of Antilochus<sup>6</sup> in his bloom, and asks of every friend that stands near, why it is he lingers on to this day ; what crime he has committed to deserve so long a life ! Such, too, is Peleus' strain, when he mourns for Archilles prematurely snatched from him : and that other, whose lot it was to grieve for the shipwrecked<sup>7</sup> Ithacensian.

<sup>1</sup> *Phialen*.

" Forgets the children he begot and bred,  
And makes a strumpet heiress in their stead." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Nigra*. "And liveries of black for length of years." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Pylius*. Hom., Il., i., 250, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν. So Odyss., iii., 245, τρὶς γὰρ δὴ μὲν φασιν ἀνάσσειν γένε' ἀνδρῶν.

<sup>4</sup> *Cornice*. "Next to the raven's age, the Pylian king  
Was longest-lived of any two-legged thing." Dryden.

<sup>5</sup> *Dextra*. This the Greeks express by ἀναπεμπάζεσθαι. They counted on the left hand as far as a hundred, then on the right up to two hundred, and then again on the left for the third hundred. Holyday has a most elaborate explanation of the method.

<sup>6</sup> *Antilochi*. Cf. Hor., II., Od. ix., 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Natantem*. Cf. Hom., Od., v., 388, 399.

Priam would have joined the shade of Assaracus with Troy still standing, with high solemnities, with Hector and his brothers supporting his bier on their shoulders, amid the weeping Troades, so that Cassandra would lead off the wail, and Polyxena<sup>1</sup> with mantle rent, had he but died at any time but that, after that Paris had begun to build his audacious ships. What then did length of days confer on him? He saw his all o'erthrown: Asia laid low by flame and sword. Then the poor tottering warrior<sup>2</sup> laid down his diadem and donned his arms, and fell before the altar of supreme Jove; like some old ox<sup>3</sup> that yields his attenuated and miserable neck to his owner's knife, long ago scorned<sup>4</sup> by the ungrateful plow.

That was at all events the death of a human being: but his wife who survived him barked fiercely from the jaws of a bitch.<sup>5</sup>

I hasten on to our own countrymen, and pass by the king of Pontus, and Cræsus,<sup>6</sup> whom the eloquent voice of the right-judging Solon bade look at the closing scene<sup>7</sup> of a life however long. Banishment, and the jail, and the marshes of Minturnæ,<sup>8</sup> and his bread begged in conquered Carthage,

"So Peleus sigh'd to join his hero lost—  
Laertes his on boundless billows toss'd." Hodgson.

<sup>1</sup> *Polyxena*, from Eurip., *Hec.*, 556, λοβοῦσα πέπλονς ἐξ ἄκρας ἐπωμίδος ἔρρηξε.

<sup>2</sup> *Miles tremulus*. Virg., *Æn.*, ii., 509, "Arma diu senior desueta tremantibus ævo circumdat," etc.

"A soldier half, and half a sacrifice." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Bos*. Virg. *Æn.*, v., 481, "Sternitur, exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos."

<sup>4</sup> *Fastiditus*.

"Disdain'd its labors, and forgotten now  
All its old service at the thankless plow." Hodgson.

<sup>5</sup> *Canino*. See the close of Eurip., *Hecuba*. The Greeks fabled that Hecuba was metamorphosed into a bitch, from her constant railing at them. Hence νυνὸς σῆμα. Cf. Plaut., *Menæchm.*, v. i.

<sup>6</sup> *Cræsus*. Cf. Herod., i., 32.

<sup>7</sup> *Spatia*, a metaphor from the "course." So Virgil has *metæ ævi*, *metæ mortis*.

<sup>8</sup> *Minturnarum*, a town of the Aurunci near the mouth of the Liris

took their rise from this. What could all nature, what could Rome, have produced more blessed in the wide world than that citizen, had he breathed forth his soul<sup>1</sup> glutted with spoils, while the captive train followed around his chariot, in all the pomp and circumstance of war, when he was about to alight from his Teutonic<sup>2</sup> car! Campania,<sup>3</sup> in her foresight for Pompey, had given him a fever he should have prayed for. But the many cities and their public prayers prevailed. Therefore his own malignant fortune and that of Rome preserved him only that conquered he should lose his head. Lentulus<sup>4</sup> escaped this torment; Cethegus paid not this penalty, but fell un mutilated; and Catiline lay with corpse entire. The anxious mother, when she visits Venus' temple, prays for beauty for her boys with subdued whisper;<sup>5</sup> with louder voice for her girls, carrying her fond wishes<sup>6</sup> even to the verge of trifling. "But why should you chide me?" she says; "Latona<sup>7</sup> delights in the beauty of Diana."

now Garigliano. In the marshes in the neighborhood Marius concealed himself from the cavalry of Sylla.

<sup>1</sup> *Animam*.

"Had he exhaled amid the pomp of war,  
A warrior's soul in that Teutonic car." Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Teutónico*, i.e., after his triumph over the Cimbri and Teutones. Cf. viii., 251.

<sup>3</sup> Campania. Cf. Cic., Tus. Qu., i., 35, "Pompeius noster familiaris, cum graviter ægrotaret Neapoli, utrum si tum esset extinctus, à bonis rebus, an à malis discessisset? certè a miseriis, si mortem tum obiisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset." Achilles and L. Septimius murdered Pompey and cut off his head; which ἐφύγασσον Καίσαρι, ὥς ἐπὶ μέγισταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς. Appian, B.C., ii., 86.

<sup>4</sup> P. Corn. Lentulus Sura, was strangled in prison with Cethegus. Catiline fell in battle, near Pistoria in Etruria.

<sup>5</sup> *Murmure*. Venus was worshiped under the name of Ἀφροδίτη ψίθυρος, because all prayers were to be offered in whispers.

<sup>6</sup> *Delicias*. This is Heinrich's view. Grangæus explains it, "Ut pro ipsi vota deliciarum plena concipiat." Britannicus, "quasi diceret, optat ut tam formosa sit, ut eam juvenes in suos amplexus optent."

<sup>7</sup> *Latona*. Hom., Od. vi., 106, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λήτω. Virg., Æn., i., 502, Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

But, Lucretia<sup>1</sup> forbids a face like hers to be the subject of your prayers: Virginia would gladly give hers to Rutila, and receive her wen in exchange. But, a son possessed of exquisite person keeps his parents in a constant state of misery and alarm. So rare is the union<sup>2</sup> of beauty with chastity. Though the house, austere in virtue, and emulating the Sabines of old, may have handed down,<sup>3</sup> like an inheritance, purity of morals, and bounteous Nature with benignant hand may give, besides, a chaste mind and a face glowing with modest blood (for what greater boon can Nature bestow on a youth? Nature, more powerful than any guardian, or any watchful care!), still they are not allowed to attain to manhood. For the villainy of the corrupter, prodigal in its guilt, dares to assail with tempting offers the parents themselves. So great is their confidence in the success of bribes! No tyrant in his cruel palace ever castrated a youth that was deformed; nor did even Nero carry off a stripling if club-footed, or disfigured by wens, pot-bellied, and humpbacked! Go then, and exult in the beauty of your darling boy! Yet for whom are there greater perils in store? He will become the adulterer of the city, and dread all the punishments<sup>4</sup> that angry husbands inflict. Nor will he be more lucky than the star of Mars, even though he never fall like Mars into the net.<sup>5</sup> But sometimes that bitter wrath exacts even

<sup>1</sup> *Lucretia*.

"Yet Vane could tell what ills from beauty spring,  
And Sedley cursed the form that pleased a king!" Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> *Concordia*. Ov., *Heroid*, xvi., 288, "*Lis est cum forma magna pudicitiae*."

"Chaste—is no epithet to suit with fair." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Tradiderit*. "Though through the rugged house, from sire to son,  
A Sabine sanctity of manners run." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Pœnas metuet*. The punishment of adulterers seems to have been left to the discretion of the injured husband rather than to have been defined by law.

<sup>5</sup> *Laqueos*. Ov., *Met.*, iv., 176, "*Extemplo graciles ex ære catenas, Retiaque et laqueos quæ lumina fallere possint, elimat*." Art. Am., ii., 561, *seq.* Hom., *Odyss.*, viii., 266.

more than any law permits, to satisfy the husband's rage. One dispatches the adulterer with the sword; another cuts him in two with bloody lashes; some have the punishment of the mullet. But your Endymion, forsooth, will of course become the lover of some lady of his affections! But soon, when Servilia<sup>1</sup> has bribed him, he will serve her whom he loves not, and will despoil her of all her ornaments. For what will any woman refuse, to get her passions gratified? whether she be an Oppia, or a Catulla. A depraved woman has all her morality<sup>2</sup> concentrated there. "But what harm does beauty do one that is chaste?" Nay, what did his virtuous resolve avail Hippolytus, or what Bellerophon? Surely she<sup>3</sup> fired at the rejection of her suit, as though treated with indignity. Nor did Sthenobæa burn less fiercely than the Cretan; and both lashed themselves into fury. A woman is then most ruthless, when shame sets sharper spurs<sup>4</sup> to her hate. Choose what course you think should be recommended him to whom Cæsar's wife<sup>5</sup> proposes to marry herself. This most noble and most beautiful of the patrician race is hurried off, poor wretched man, a sacrifice to

<sup>1</sup> *Servilia*; i.e., some one as rich and debauched as Servilia, sister of Cato and mother of Brutus, with whom Cæsar intrigued, and lavished immense wealth on her. Vid. Suet., Jul., 50. Her sister, the wife of Lucullus, was equally depraved.

<sup>2</sup> *Mores*. "In all things else, immoral, stingy, mean,  
But in her lusts a conscionable quean." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Hæc*, sc. Phædra, daughter of Minos, king of Crete.

<sup>4</sup> *Stimulos*. "A woman scorn'd is pitiless as fate,  
For then the dread of shame adds stings to hate."

Gifford.

<sup>5</sup> *Cæsar's uxor*. The story is told in Tacitus, Ann., xi., 12, seq. "In Silium, juvenutis Romanæ pulcherrimum ita exarserat, ut Juniam Silanam nobilem fœminam, matrimonio ejus exturbaret vacuoque adultero potiretur. Neque Silius flagitii aut periculi nescius erat: sed certo si abnueret exitio et nonnullâ fallendi spe, simul magnis præmiis. opperiri futura, et præsentibus frui, pro solatio habebat." This happened A.D. 48, in the autumn, while Claudius was at Ostia. It was with great difficulty, after all, that Narcissus prevailed on Claudius to order Messalina's execution, cf. xiv., 331; Tac., Ann., xi., 37; and she was put to death at last without his knowledge.



the lewd eyes of Messalina. She is long since seated with her bridal veil all ready: the nuptial bed with Tyrian hangings is openly prepared in the gardens, and, according to the antique rites, a dowry of a million sesterces will be given; the soothsayer<sup>1</sup> and the witnesses to the settlement will be there! Do you suppose these acts are kept secret; intrusted only to a few? She will not be married otherwise than with all legal forms. Tell me which alternative you choose. If you refuse to comply, you must die before nightfall.<sup>2</sup> If you *do* commit the crime, some brief delay will be afforded you, until the thing, known to the city and the people,<sup>3</sup> shall reach the prince's ears. He will be the last to learn the disgrace of his house! Do you meanwhile obey her behests, if you set so high a value on a few days' existence. Whichever you hold the better and the safer course, that white and beauteous neck must be presented<sup>4</sup> to the sword!

Is there then nothing for which men shall pray? If you will take advice, you will allow the deities themselves to determine what may be expedient for us, and suitable to our condition. For instead of pleasant things, the gods will give us all that is most fitting. Man is dearer to them than to himself. We, led on by the impulse of our minds, by blind and headstrong passions, pray for wedlock, and issue by our wives; but it is known to them what our children will prove; of what character our wife will be! Still, that you

<sup>1</sup> *Auspex*. Suet., Claud. "Cum comperisset [Valeriam Messalinam] super cætera flagitia atque dedecora, C. Silio etiam nupsisse, *dote inter auspices consignatâ*, supplicio, affectit." C. 26; cf. 36, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Lucernas*. "Before the evening lamps 'tis thine to die." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Nota urbi et populo*. Juvenal uses almost the very words of Tacitus. "An discidium inquit (Narcissus) tuum nôsti? Nam matrimonium Silii vidit populus et senatus et miles: ac ni properè agis tenet urbem maritus." Ann., xi., 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Præbenda*. Cf. Tac., Ann., xi., 38.

"Inevitable death before thee lies,  
But looks more kindly through a lady's eyes!" Dryden.

may have somewhat to pray for, and vow to their shrines the entrails and consecrated mincemeat<sup>1</sup> of the white porker, your prayer must be that you may have a sound mind in a sound body. Pray for a bold spirit, free from all dread of death ; that reckons the closing scene of life among Nature's kindly boons ;<sup>2</sup> that can endure labor, whatever it be ; that deems the gnawing cares of Hercules,<sup>3</sup> and all his cruel toils, far preferable to the joys of Venus, rich banquets, and the downy couch of Sardanapalus. I show thee what thou canst confer upon thyself. The only path that surely leads to a life of peace lies through virtue. If *we* have wise foresight, *thou*, Fortune, hast no divinity.<sup>4</sup> It is *we* that make thee a deity, and place thy throne in heaven !<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tomacula*, "the liver and other parts cut out of the pig minced up with the fat." Mart., i., Ep. xlii., 9, "Quod fumantia qui tomacula raucus circumfert tepidus coquus popinis." The other savory ingredients are given by Facciolati; the Greeks called them τεμάχια or τεμάχια.

<sup>2</sup> *Munera*, "A soul that can securely death defy,  
And count it Nature's privilege to die." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Hercules*. Alluding to the well-known "Choice of Hercules" from Prodicus. Xen., Mem.

<sup>4</sup> *Nullum numen*. Repeated, xiv., 315.

<sup>5</sup> "The reasonings in this Satire," Gibbon says, "would have been clearer, had Juvenal distinguished between wishes the accomplishment of which could not fail to make us miserable, and those whose accomplishment might fail to make us happy. Absolute power is of the first kind ; long life of the second."

## SATIRE XI.

## ARGUMENT.

UNDER the form of an invitation to his friend Persicus, Juvenal takes occasion to enunciate many admirable maxims for the due regulation of life. After ridiculing the miserable state to which a profligate patrician had reduced himself by his extravagance, he introduces the picture of his own domestic economy, which he follows by a pleasing view of the simplicity of ancient manners, artfully contrasted with the extravagance and luxury of the current times. After describing with great beauty the entertainment he proposes to give his friend, he concludes with an earnest recommendation to him to enjoy the present with content, and await the future with calmness and moderation.

IF Atticus<sup>1</sup> sups extravagantly, he is considered a splendid<sup>2</sup> fellow: if Rutilus does so, he is thought mad. For what is received with louder laughter on the part of the mob, than Apicius<sup>3</sup> reduced to poverty?

Every club,<sup>4</sup> the baths, every knot of loungers, every theatre,<sup>5</sup> is full of Rutilus. For while his sturdy and youthful limbs are fit to bear arms,<sup>6</sup> and while he is hot in blood, he is driven<sup>7</sup> (not indeed forced to it, but unchecked by the tribune) to copy out<sup>8</sup> the instructions and imperial com-

<sup>1</sup> *Atticus*. Put for any man of wealth and rank. So *Rutilus* for the reverse. Cf. xiv., 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Lautus*. Cf. Mart., xii., Ep. xlviii., 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Apicius* (cf. iv., 23), having spent "millies sestertium," upward of eight hundred thousand pounds, in luxury, destroyed himself through fear of want, though it appeared he had above eighty thousand pounds left.

<sup>4</sup> *Convivtus*. Properly, like convivium, "a dinner party." Cf. i., 145; "It nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cœnas." Tac., Ann., xiv., 4; xiii., 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Stationes*, "locus ubi otiosi in urbe degunt, et variis sermonibus tempus terunt." Plin., Ep. i., 13; ii., 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Sufficiunt galeæ*. Cf. vii., 32, "Defluit ætas et pelagi patiens et casidis atque ligonis."

<sup>7</sup> *Cogente*. Cf. viii., 167, "Quanta sua funera vendunt Quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone. Nec dubitant celsi prætoris vendere ludis."

<sup>8</sup> *Scripturus*. Suet., Jul., 26. Gladiators had to write out the rules

mands of the trainer of gladiators. Moreover, you see many whom their creditor, often cheated of his money, is wont to look out for at the very entrance of the market;<sup>1</sup> and whose inducement to live exists in their palate alone. The greatest wretch among these, one who must soon fail, since his ruin is already as clear<sup>2</sup> as day, sups the more extravagantly and the more splendidly. Meanwhile they ransack all the elements for dainties;<sup>3</sup> the price never standing in the way of their gratification. If you look more closely into it, those please the more which are bought for more. Therefore they have no scruple<sup>4</sup> in borrowing a sum, soon to be squandered, by pawning<sup>5</sup> their plate, or the broken<sup>6</sup> image

and words of command of their trainers, "dictata," in order to learn them by heart. Lubinus gives us some of these: "attolle, declina, percutē, urge, cæde."

<sup>1</sup> *Macelli*. So called from μάκελλον, "an inclosure," because the markets, before dispersed in the Forum boarium, olitorium, piscarium, cupedinis, etc., were collected into one building; or, from one Romanus Macellus, whose house stood there, and was "propter latrocinia ejus publicè diruta." Vid. Donat. ad Ter., Eunuch., ii., sc. ii., 24, where he gives a list of the cupediarii, "cetarii, lanii, coqui, futores, piscatores;" or á mactando; as the French "Abattoir." Cf. Sat., v., 95. Suet., Jul., 26. Plaut., Aul., II., viii., 3. Hor., i., Ep. xv., 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Perlucente ruinâ*. Cf. x., 107, "impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ." A metaphor from a building on the point of falling, with the daylight streaming through its cracks and fissures.

"Then with their prize to ruin'd walls repair,

And eat the dainty scrap on earthenware." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Gustus*. III., 93, "Quando omne peractum est, et jam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula sævit, retribus assiduis penitus scrutante macello proxima." The idea is probably from Seneca. "Quidquid avium volitat, quidquid piscium natat, quidquid ferarum discurret, nostris sepelitur ventribus." Contr. V. pr. The Cœna consisted of three parts. 1. Gustus (Gustatio), or Promulsis. 2. Fercula: different courses. 3. Mensæ Secundæ. The gustus contained dishes designed more to excite than to satisfy hunger: vegetables, as the lactuca (Mart., xiii., 14), shell and other fish, with piquant sauces: mulsum (Hor., ii., Sat. iv., 24. Plin., i., Ep. 15). Cf. Bekker's Gallus, p. 466, 493. Vide ad Sat. vi., 428.

<sup>4</sup> *Difficile*, i.e., "non dubitant." Vid. Schol. Not that they "have no difficulty" in raising the money, as Crepereius Pollio found. Cf. ix., 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Oppositis*. "Ager oppositus est pignori ob decem minas." Ter., Phorm., IV., iii., 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Fractâ*. "Broken, that the features may not be recognized:" alluding probably to some well-known transaction of the time.

of their mother; and with the 400<sup>1</sup> sesterces, seasoning an earthen<sup>2</sup> dish to tickle their palate. Thus they are reduced to the hotchpotch<sup>3</sup> of the gladiator.

It makes therefore all the difference who it is that procures these same things. For in Rutilus it is luxurious extravagance. In Ventidius it takes a praiseworthy name, and derives credit from his fortune.

I should with reason despise the man who knows how much more lofty Atlas is than all the mountains in Libya, yet this very man knows not how much a little purse differs from an iron-bound chest.<sup>4</sup> "Know thyself," came down from heaven:<sup>5</sup> a proverb to be implanted and cherished in the memory, whether you are about to contract matrimony,<sup>6</sup> or wish to be in a part of the sacred<sup>7</sup> senate:—(for not even Thersites<sup>8</sup> is a candidate for the breast-plate of Achilles: in which Ulysses exhibited himself in a doubtful character:<sup>9</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> *Quadringentis*. Cf. Suet., Vit., 13, "Nec cuiquam minus singuli apparatus quadringentis millibus nummum constiterunt."

<sup>2</sup> *Fictile*. III., 168, "Fictilibus cœnare pudet."

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellanea*. "A special diet-bread to advantage the combatants at once in breath and strength." *Holyday*. It is said to have been a mixture of cheese and flour; probably a kind of macaroni. "Gladiatoria sagina." Tac., Hist., ii., 88. Prop., IV., viii., 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ferratù*. XIV., 259, "Æratâ multus in arcâ fiscus." X., 25. Hor., i., Sat. i., 67.

<sup>5</sup> *E cœlo*. This precept has been assigned to Socrates, Chilo, Thales, Cleobulus, Bias, Pythagoras. It was inscribed in gold letters over the portico of the temple of Delphi. Hence, perhaps, the notion afterward, that it was derived immediately from heaven.

<sup>6</sup> *Conjugium*. Cf. Æsch., Pr. V., 890. Ov., Her., ix., 32, "Si qua vos aptè nuberè nube pari."

<sup>7</sup> *Sacri*. "The undaunted spirit," says Gifford, "which could thus designate the senate in those days of tyranny and suspicion, deserves at least to be pointed out."

<sup>8</sup> *Thersites*. Cf. vii., 115: x., 84; viii., 269. Juvenal is very fond of referring to this contest.

<sup>9</sup> *Traducebat*. II., 159, "Illuc heu miseri traducimur." VIII., 17, "Squalentes traducit avos." It means literally "to expose to public derision," a metaphor taken from leading malefactors through the forum with their name and offense suspended from their neck. Cf. Suet., Tit., 8. Mart., i., Ep. liv., 3, "Quæ tua traducit manifesto carmina furto." VI., lxxvii., 5, "Rideris multoque magis traduceris afer Quam nudus medio si spatiere foro." Grang. explains it "se

—or whether you take upon yourself to defend a cause of great moment. Consult your own powers; tell yourself who you are; whether you are a powerful orator, or like a Curtius, or a Matho,<sup>1</sup> mere spouters.

One must know one's own measure, and keep it in view, in the greatest and in most trifling matters; even when a fish is to be bought. Do not long for a mullet,<sup>2</sup> when you have only a gudgeon in your purse. For what end awaits you, as your purse<sup>3</sup> fails and your gluttony increases; when your patrimony and whole fortune is squandered<sup>4</sup> upon your belly, what can hold your money out at interest, your solid plate, your flocks, and lands?

By such proprietors as these, last of all<sup>5</sup> the ring is parted with, and Pollio<sup>5</sup> begs with his finger bare. It is not the

*risui exponebat: nec enim arma Achillis Ulysses decebant.*" Browne, "in which Ulysses cut a doubtful figure." Others refer *ancipitem* to *loricam*; or place the stop after *Ulysses*, and take *ancip.* with *causam*. Gifford omits the passage altogether, as a tasteless interpolation of some Scholiast. Dryden turns it,

"When scarce Ulysses had a good pretense,  
With all th' advantage of his eloquence."

Badham: "Which at the peril of a soldier's fame,  
The brave Ulysses scarcely dared to claim."

Hodgson: "Thersites never could that armor bear,  
Which e'en Ulysses hesitates to wear."

Britann. suggests that it may mean "his enemies doubted if he were really Achilles or no." Facciol.: "in a doubtful frame of mind as to whether they would become him or not."

<sup>1</sup> *Matho*. Cf. i., 39; vii., 129. Mart., iv., Ep. 80, 81. For Curtius Montanus, see Tac., Ann., xvi., 48. Hist., iv., 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Mullum*. Gifford always renders this by "sur-mullet" ["*mugilis*," being properly the mullet, of which Holyday gives a drawing, ad x., 317]; Mr. Metcalfe, by "the sea-barbel." Cf. ad iv., 15.

"Nor doubt thy throat of mullets to amerce,

While scarce a gudgeon lingers in thy purse." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Crumenâ*. Properly "a bag or reticule to hang on the arm;" a satchel to be hung over a boy's shoulder: then a purse suspended from the girdle, like the "*gypciére*" of the Middle Ages:

"If thy throat widen as thy pockets shrink." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Mersis*.

"That deep abyss which every kind can hold,

Land, cattle, contract, houses, silver, gold." Badham.

<sup>5</sup> *Novissimus*. VI., 356, "*Levibus athletis vasa novissima donat.*"

<sup>6</sup> *Pollio*. Probably the Crepereius Pollio mentioned Sat. ix., 6, who



premature funeral pile, or the grave, that is luxury's horror, but old age,<sup>1</sup> more to be dreaded than death itself. These are most commonly the steps : money, borrowed at Rome, is spent before the very owners' faces ; then when some trifling residue is left, and the lender of the money is growing pale, they give leg-bail<sup>2</sup> and run to Baiæ and Ostia. For nowadays to quit the forum<sup>3</sup> is not more discreditable to you than to remove to Esquiline from hot<sup>4</sup> Suburra. This is the only pain that they who flee their country feel, this their only sorrow, to have lost the Circensian games<sup>5</sup> for one<sup>6</sup> year. Not a drop of blood remains in their face ; few attempt to detain modesty, now become an object of ridicule and fleeing from the city.

You shall prove to-day by your own experience, Persicus, whether all these things, which are very fine to talk about, I do not practice in my life, in my moral conduct, and in reality : but praise vegetables,<sup>7</sup> while in secret I am a glutton : in others' hearing bid my slave bring me water—could get no one to lend him money, though “triplicem usuram præstare paratus.”

<sup>1</sup> *Senectus* ; exemplified in the story of Apicius above.

“Decrepit age far more than death they fear ;

Nor thirst nor hunger haunt the silent bier.” Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui vertere solum*. Cic. pro Cæc., 34, “Qui volunt pœnam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem, *solum vertunt*, hoc est sedem ac locum mutant.” Browne conjectures the meaning to be, “They who have parted with their property by mortgage, and so *changed* its owner.”

<sup>3</sup> *Cedere foro* is evidently explained, “to give one's creditors the slip”—“to run away from justice”—“to abscond from 'Change”—“to become bankrupt.”

<sup>4</sup> *Ferventi*.

“Lest Rome should grow too *warm*, from Rome they run.” Dryden.

<sup>5</sup> *Circensibus*. Cf. iii., 223, “Si potes avelli Circensibus.” vi., 87, “utque magis stupeas ludos Paridemque reliquit.” viii., 118, “Circo scenæque vacantem.” x., 80, “duas tantum res anxius optat Panem et Circenses.” All these passages show the infatuation of the Romans for these games. Cf. Plin., Ep. ix., 6. Tac., Hist., i., 4 ; Ann., i., 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Uno*. It is not implied that they had the privilege of returning at the end of a year, by a sort of a statute of limitations, but only that the loss of the games even for that short period was a greater affliction than the forfeiture of all other privileges.

<sup>7</sup> *Siliquas*, from Hor. ii., Ep. i., 123, “Vivit siliquis et pane secundo.”

gruel,<sup>1</sup> but whisper "cheese-cakes" in his ear. For since you are my promised guest, you shall find me an Evander:<sup>2</sup> you shall come as the Tirynthian, or the guest, inferior indeed to him, and yet himself akin by blood to heaven: the one sent to the skies by water,<sup>3</sup> the other by fire.

Now hear your bill of fare,<sup>4</sup> furnished by no public market.<sup>5</sup> From my farm at Tibur there shall come a little kid, the fattest and tenderest of the whole flock, ignorant of the taste of grass, that has never yet ventured to browse even on the low twigs of the willow-bed, and that has more milk than blood in his veins: and asparagus<sup>6</sup> from the mountains, which my bailiff's wife, having laid down her spindle, gathered. Some huge eggs besides, and still warm in their twisted hay, shall be served up together with the hens themselves: and grapes kept a portion of the year, just as they were when fresh upon the vines: pears from Signia<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Pultes*. A mixture of coarse meal and water, seasoned with salt and cheese; sometimes with an egg or honey added. It was long the food of the primitive Romans, according to Pliny, xviii., 8, *seq.* It probably resembled the macaroni, or "polenta," of the poor Italians of the present day. Cf. Pers., iii., 55, "Juventus siliquis et grandi pasta polentâ."

<sup>2</sup> *Evandrum*. The allusion is to Virg., *Æn.*, viii., 100, *seq.*; 228, 359, *seq.*

"Come; and while fancy brings past times to view,  
I'll think myself the king—the hero, you!" Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Alter aquis*. Æneas, drowned in the Numicius. Hercules, burned on Mount Ceta.

<sup>4</sup> *Fercula*. Cf. ad 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Macellis*. Virg., *Georg.*, iv., 133, "Dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis." Cf. Hor., ii., Sat. ii., 150, *seq.* The next 16 lines are imitated from Mart., x., Ep. 48. Gifford says, "Martial has imitated this bill of fare in Lib. x., 48." But his 10th Book was written A.D. 99; and from line 203, it is evident this Satire was written in Juvenal's old age, and therefore, in all probability, twenty years later.

<sup>6</sup> *Asparagi*, called "corruda," Cato de R. R., 6. The wild asparagus is still very common on the Italian hills. Cf. Mart., Ep. xiii., 21, "Inculti asparagi." See Sir William Hooker's note on Badham's version.

<sup>7</sup> *Signia*, now "Segni" in Latium. Cf. Plin., xv., 15.—*Syrium*. The "Bergamot" pears are said to have been imported from Syria. Cf. Mart., v., Ep. lxxviii., 13, "Et nomen pyra quæ ferunt Syrorum." Virg., *Georg.*, ii., 88, "Crustumis Syriisque pyris." Columella (lib. v., c. 10) calls them "Tarentina," because brought from Syria to Tarentum. Others say they are the same as the Falernian.

Syria : and, from the same basket, apples rivaling those of Picenum,<sup>1</sup> and smelling quite fresh ; that you need not be afraid of, since they have lost their autumnal moisture, which has been dried up by cold, and the dangers to be feared from their juice if crude. This would in times gone by have been a luxurious supper for our senate. Curius<sup>2</sup> with his own hands used to cook over his little fire pot-herbs which he had gathered in his little garden : such herbs as now the foul digger in his heavy chain rejects with scorn, who remembers the flavor of the vile dainties<sup>3</sup> of the reeking cook-shop. It was the custom formerly to keep against festival days the flitches of the smoked swine, hanging from the wide-barred rack, and to set bacon as a birthday treat before one's relations, with the addition of some fresh meat, if a sacrificial victim furnished any. Some one of the kin, with the title of "Thrice consul," that had held command in camps, and discharged the dignity of dictator, used to go earlier<sup>4</sup> than his wont to such a feast as this, bearing his spade over his shoulder from the mountain he had been dig-

<sup>1</sup> *Picenis*. Hor., ii., Sat. iv., 70, "*Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo, Nam facie præstant.*" And iii., 272, "*Picenis excerpens semina pomis.*" These apples were to be also from his Tiburtine farm : the banks of the Anio being famous for its orchards. Hor., i., Od. vii., 14, "*Præceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda mobilibus pomaria vivis.*" Propert., IV., vii., 81, "*Pomosis Anio quâ spumifer incubat arvis.*" Apples formed a very prominent part of the *mensæ secundæ* : hence the proverb, "*Ab ovo usque ad mala.*" Cf. Mart., x., 48, fin., "*Saturis mitia pomo dabo.*" Cf. Sat. v., 150, *seq.*, where apples "*qualia perpetuus Phæacum Autumnus habebat*" form the conclusion of Virro's dinner. Cf. Mart., iii., Ep. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Curius* was found by the Samnite ambassadors preparing his dish of turnips over the fire with his own hands. Cic., de Sen., xvi.

"Senates more rich than Rome's first senates were.

In days of yore desired no better fare." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Vulvâ* "*Nul vulvâ pulchrius amplâ.*" Hor., i., Ep. xv., 41. For a description of this loathsome dainty, vid. Plin., xi., 37, 84. Cf. Mart., Ep. xiii., 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Maturius*.

"For feasts like these would quit the mountain's soil,  
And snatch an hour from customary toil." Badham.

ging on. But when men trembled at the Fabii,<sup>1</sup> and the stern Cato, and the Scauri and Fabricii;<sup>2</sup> and when, in fine, even his colleague stood in dread of the severe character of the strict Censor; no one thought it was a matter of anxiety or serious concern what kind of tortoise<sup>3</sup> floated in the wave of ocean, destined to form a splendid and noble couch for the Trojugenæ. But with side devoid of ornament, and sofas of diminutive size, the brazen front displayed the mean head of an ass wearing a chaplet,<sup>4</sup> at which the country lads laughed in wantonness.

The food then was in keeping with the master of the house and the furniture. Then the soldier, uncivilized, and too ignorant<sup>5</sup> to admire the arts of Greece, used to break up the drinking-cups, the work of some renowned artists, which he found in his share of the booty when cities were overthrown, that his horse might exult in trappings,<sup>6</sup> and his embossed helmet might display to his enemy on the point of perishing, likenesses of the Romulean wild beast bidden to grow tame by the destiny of the empire, and the twin Quirini be-

<sup>1</sup> *Fabios*. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, censor A.U.C. 449, obliged his colleague, P. Decius, to allow him to administer his office with all its pristine severity.

<sup>2</sup> *Fabricios*. Cf. ad ix., 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Testudo*. Cf. vi., 80, "Testudineo conopeo;" xiv., 308, "ebore et lata testudine."

"Which future times were destined to employ,

To build rare couches for the sons of Troy." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Vile coronati*. Henninius suggests *vile*. The ass, by browsing on the vine, and thereby rendering it more luxuriant, is said to have first given men the idea of pruning the tendrils. Cf. Paus., ii., 38. Hyg., F., 274. The ass is always found, too, in connection with Silenus.

<sup>5</sup> *Nescius*.

"Till at the soldier's foot her treasures lay,

Who knew not half the riches of his prey." Hodgson.

<sup>6</sup> *Phaleris*: xvi., 60. Florus says Phaleræ were introduced from Etruria together with curule chairs, trabæ, prætextæ, etc. Vid Liv., xxxix., 31. Plin., vi., 28, 9, says Siccius Dentatus had 25 phaleræ and 83 torques. Sil., xv., 254. Cf. Virg., Æn., ix., 359. Suet., Aug., 25; Ner., 33.

neath the rock, and the naked image of the god coming down<sup>1</sup> with buckler and spear, and impending over him. Whatever silver he possessed glittered on his arms<sup>2</sup> alone. In those days, then, they used to serve all their furmety in a dish of Tuscan earthenware: which you may envy, if you are at all that way inclined.<sup>3</sup>

The majesty of temples also was more evidently near<sup>4</sup> to men, and a voice<sup>5</sup> heard about midnight and through the midst of the city, when the Gauls were coming from the shore of ocean, and the gods discharged the functions of a prophet, warned us of these.

This was the care which Jupiter used to show for the affairs of Latium, when made of earthenware,<sup>6</sup> and as yet profaned by no gold. Those days saw tables made of wood grown at home and from our native trees.<sup>7</sup> To these uses

<sup>1</sup> *Venientis*. Supposed to be a representation of Mars hovering in the air, and just about to alight by the sleeping Rhea Sylvia. The god is *armed*, because the conventional manner of representing him was by the distinction of his "framea" and "clypeus." See Addison's note in Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *In armis*.

"Then all their wealth was on their armor spent,  
And war engross'd the pride of ornament." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Lividulus*.

"Yet justly worth your envy, were your breast  
But with one spark of noble spleen possess'd." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Præsentior*. Cf. iii., 18, "Quanto *præsentius* esset Numen aquæ." Virg., *Ec.*, i., 42, "Nec tam præsentibus alibi cognoscere Divos." Georg., i., 10, "Præsentia Numina Fauni." Hor., iii., *Od.* v., 2, "Præsens Divus habebitur Augustus."

<sup>5</sup> *Vox*. "M. Cædicius de plebe nunciavit tribunis, se in Novâ Viâ, ubi nunc sacellum est, suprâ ædem Vestæ vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humanâ quæ magistratibus dici juberet 'Gallos adventare.'" "Invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente." Liv., v., 32, 3, 7, 50. Cic., de *Div.*, ii., "At paullo post audita vox est monentis ut providerent ne a Gallis Roma caperetur; ex eo Aio loquenti aram in novâ viâ consecratam." Cf. Plut., in Vit. Camill.

<sup>6</sup> *Fictilis*. Cf. Sen., *Ep.* 31, "Cogita illos quum propitii essent fictiles fuisse."

<sup>7</sup> *Arbore*. Cf. Mart., xiv., *Ep.* xc., "Non sum crispa quidem nec sylvæ filia Mauræ, sed nôrunt lautas et mea ligna dapes." Cf. Sat. i., 75, 137; iv., 132. The extravagance of the Romans on their tables is

was the timber applied, if the east wind had chanced to lay prostrate some old walnut tree. But now the rich have no satisfaction in their dinner, the turbot and the venison lose their flavor, perfumes and roses seem to lose their smell, unless the broad circumference of the table is supported by a huge mass of ivory, and a tall leopard with wide-gaping jaws, made of those tusks, which the gate of Syene <sup>1</sup>transmits, and the active Moors, and the Indian of duskier hue than the Moor;<sup>2</sup> and which the huge beast has deposited in some Nabathæan<sup>3</sup> glen, as now grown too weighty and burdensome to his head: by this their appetite<sup>4</sup> is whetted: hence their stomach acquires its vigor. For a leg of a table made only of silver is to them what an iron ring on their finger would be: I therefore cautiously avoid a proud guest, who compares me with himself, and looks with scorn on my paltry

almost incredible. Pliny says that Cicero himself, who accuses Verres of stealing a Citrea mensa from Diodorus (in Verr., iv., 17), gave a million of sesterces for one which was in existence in his time. A "Senatoris Census" was a price given. These tables were not provided with several feet, but rested on an ivory column (sometimes carved into the figure of animals), hence called monopodia. They were called "Orbes," not from being *round*, but because they were massive plates of wood cut off the stem in its whole diameter. The wood of the *citrus* was most preferred. This is not the *citron*-tree, which never attains to this bulk, but a tree found in Mauritania, called the *thyæ cypressides*. Plin., xiii., 16. Those cut near the root were most valued from the wood being variegated: hence "Tigrinæ, pantherinæ, pavonum caudæ oculos imitantes." The mensæ were formerly square, but were afterward round to suit the new fashion of the Sigma couch. The Romans also understood the art of veneering tables and other furniture with the citrus wood and tortoise-shell.

<sup>1</sup> *Porta Syenes*. Syene, now "Assouan," is situated near the rapids, just on the confines of Ethiopia. It was a station for a Roman garrison, and the place to which Juvenal is said to have been banished. Some think the island Elephantine is here meant. Cf. ad x., 150, "aliosque Elephantos."

<sup>2</sup> *Mauro*. Ab *ἀμαυρός*, vel *μαυρός*, "obscurus." Cf. Lucan., iv., 678, "Concolor Indo Maurus."

<sup>3</sup> *Nabathæo*. The Nabathæi, in Arabia Petræa, took their name from "Nebaioth, first-born of Ishmael," Gen., xxv., 13. Elephants are said to shed their tusks every two years.

<sup>4</sup> *Orexis*, VI., 428. *Vires*. Henninius' suggestion. Cf. ad l., 14.



estate. Consequently I do not possess a single ounce of ivory; neither my chess-board<sup>1</sup> nor my men are of this material; nay, the very handles of my knives are of bone. Yet my viands never become rank in flavor by these, nor does my pullet cut up the worse on that account. Nor yet will you see a carver, to whom the whole carving-school<sup>2</sup> ought to yield the palm, some pupil of the professor Trypherus, at whose house the hare, with the large sow's udders,<sup>3</sup> and the wild boar, and the roebuck,<sup>4</sup> and pheasants,<sup>5</sup> and the huge flamingo,<sup>6</sup> and the wild goat<sup>7</sup> of Gætulia, all forming a most splendid supper, though made of elm, are carved with the blunted knife, and resounds through the whole Suburra. My little fellow, who is a novice, and uneducated all his days, does not know how to take dexterously off a slice of

<sup>1</sup> *Tessellæ*. Holyday explains this by 'chess-board,' from the resemblance of the squares to the tessellated pavements. But it is a die, properly; of which shape the separate tesserae were. Mart., xiv., 17, "Hic mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto: Calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit. Cf. Ep. 14. Cicero considers this game to be one of the legitimate amusements of old age. "Nobis senibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquunt et tesseras," de Sen., xvi. "Old Mucius Scævola, the lawyer, was a great proficient at it. It was called Ludus duodecim scriptorum, from the lines dividing the alveolus. On these the two armies, white and black, each consisting of fifteen men, or calculi, were placed; and alternately moved, according to the chances of the dice, tesserae." Vid. Gibbon, chap. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Pergula*. Literally "the stall outside a shop where articles are displayed for sale." Here used for the teachers of the art of carving who exhibited at these stalls. Suet., Aug., 94, speaks of a "pergula Mathematici." Pergula, "à perga, quia extrâ parietem pergit." Facc.

<sup>3</sup> *Sumine*. Cf. Mart., Ep. xiii., 44, "vivo lacte papilla tumet."

<sup>4</sup> *Pygargus*. "Capra sylvestris genus, ab albis clunium pilis." Facc. [Cf. Plin., viii., 53, 79, "Damæ et pygargi et Strepsicerotes." The "spring-bok" of the Cape.

<sup>5</sup> *Scythica*. The pheasant (ὄρνις φασιανός, or φασιανικός, Arist., Av., 68) takes its name from the Phasis, a river in Colchis, on the confines of Scythia, at the mouth of which these birds congregate in large flocks. Vid. Athen., ix., 37, seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Phœnicopterus*. Arist., Av., 273. Cf. Mart., xiii., 71, "Dat mihi penna rubens nomen." Cf. iii., Ep. lviii., 14. Suetonius mentions "linguas phœnicopterum" among the delicacies of the "Cœna adventicia" given by his brother to Vitellius, in Vit., c. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Caprea*. Cf. Mart., Ep. xiii., 99.

roe, or the wing of a Guinea-hen ;<sup>1</sup> only versed in the mysteries of carving the fragments of a small collop.<sup>2</sup>

My slave, who is not gayly dressed, and only clad so as to protect him from cold, will hand you plebeian cups<sup>3</sup> bought for a few pence. He is no Phrygian or Lycian, or one purchased from the slave-dealer<sup>4</sup> and at great price. When you ask for any thing, ask in Latin. They have all the same style of dress ; their hair close-cropped and straight, and only combed to-day on account of company. One is the son of a hardy shepherd, another of a neat-herd : he sighs after his mother, whom he has not seen for a long time, and pines for his hovel<sup>5</sup> and his playmate kids. A lad of ingenuous face, and ingenuous modesty ; such as *those* ought to be who are clothed in brilliant purple. He shall hand you wine<sup>6</sup> made on those very hills from which he himself comes, and under whose summit he has played ; for the country of the wine and the attendant is one and the same.

Gambling is disgraceful, and so is adultery, in men of moderate means. Yet when rich men commit all those

<sup>1</sup> *Afra avis*. Hor., Epod., ii., 53, *Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum non attagen Ionicus*." The *μελεαγρίς* of the Greeks. Varro, R.R., III., ix., 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ofellæ*, the diminutive of *Offa*. "A cutlet or chop," generally applied to the coarser kind of meat. Cf. Mart., xii., 48, "Me meus ad subitas invitet amicus ofellas : Hæc mihi quam possum reddere cœna placet." Some read *furtis* for *frustis* : which imputation against the character of the little slave Gifford indignantly rejects.

<sup>3</sup> *Plebeios calices*, cf. ad vi., 155; v., 46, made of glass, which was now very common at Rome. Vid. Mart., Ep. xii., 74 ; xiv., 94, *seq.*, and especially the Epigram on Mamurra, ix., 60. Strabo speaks of them as sold commonly in Rome in his own time for a *χαλκοῦς* each (not quite a farthing), lib. xvi., p. 368, T. Cf. Bekker's Gallus, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> *Mango*, cf. Pers., vi., 76, *seq.*, from *manu ago*, because they made up their goods for sale, or from *μάγανον*, "a trick." Cf. Aristoph., Plut., 310. Bekker's Gallus, the Excursus on "the Slaves."

<sup>5</sup> *Casulam*. Cf. ix., 59, "Rusticus infans, cum matre et casulis et conlusore catello."

"Sighs for his little cottage, and would fain  
Meet his old playfellows the goats again." Gifford.

<sup>6</sup> *Vina*. Cf. vii., 96, "Vinum Tiberi devectum." Mart., x., 48, 19, "De Nomentana vinum sine fæce lagenâ."

abominations, they are called jovial, splendid fellows. Our banquet to-day will furnish far different amusements. The author of the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> shall be recited, and the verses of high-sounding Mars, that render the palm doubtful. What matter is it with what voice such noble verses are read?<sup>2</sup> But now having put off all your cares, lay aside business, and allow yourself a pleasing respite, since you will have it in your power to be idle all day long. Let there be no mention of money out at interest. Nor if your wife is accustomed to go out at break of day and return at night, let her stir up your bile,<sup>3</sup> though you hold your tongue. Divest yourself at once of all that annoys you, at my threshold. Banish all thoughts of home and servants, and all that is broken and wasted<sup>4</sup> by them—especially forget ungrateful friends! Meantime, the spectacles of the Megalesian towel<sup>5</sup> grace the Idæan solemnity: and, like one in a triumph, the prey of horses, the prætor, sits: and, if I may say so without offense to the immense and overgrown crowd, the circus to-day incloses the whole of Rome;<sup>6</sup> and a din reaches my ears, from which I infer the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliados*. "The tale of Ilium, or that rival lay  
Which holds in deep suspense the dubious bay." Bad.

<sup>2</sup> *Legantur*. Cf. Corn. Nep., vit. Attici, "Nemo in convivio ejus aliud acroama audiuit quam Anagnosten; quod nos quidem jucundissimum arbitramur. Neque unquam sine aliquâ lectione apud eum cœnatum est, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivæ delectarentur," c. xvi. Cf. Mart., iii., Ep. 50, who complains of Ligurinus inviting him to have his own productions read to him.

<sup>3</sup> *Bilem*. "Let no dire images to-day be brought  
To wake the hell of matrimonial thought." Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Perit*. Cf. Hor., ii., Ep. i., 121, "Detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet."

<sup>5</sup> *Mappæ*. Holyday gives the following account of the origin of this custom. "Nero on a time, sitting alone at dinner, when the shows were eagerly expected, caused his towel with which he had wiped his hands to be presently cast out at the window, for a sign of his speedy coming. Whereupon it was in after times the usual sign at the beginning of these shows." For the mappa see Bekker's Gallus, p. 476.—*Præda*, because "ruined by the expense;" or *Prædo*, from his "unjust decisions;" or *Perda*, from the "number of horses damaged."

<sup>6</sup> *Totam Romam*. See Gibbon, chap. xxxi., for the eagerness with which all ranks flocked to these games.

success of the green faction.<sup>1</sup> For should it not win, you would see this city in mourning and amazement, as when the consuls were conquered in the dust<sup>2</sup> of Cannæ. Let young men be spectators of these, in whom shouting and bold betting, and sitting by a trim damsel is becoming. Let our skin,<sup>3</sup> which is wrinkled with age, imbibe the vernal sun and avoid the toga'd crowd. Even now, though it wants a whole hour to the sixth, you may go to the bath with unblushing brow. You could not do this for five successive days; because even of such a life as this there would be great weariness. It is a more moderate use<sup>4</sup> that enhances pleasures.

<sup>1</sup> *Viridis panni*. Cf. ad vi., 590. Plin., Ep. ix., 6, "Si aut velocitate equorum, aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla. Nunc favent panno: pannum amant," *et seq.* Mart., x., Ep. xlviii., 23, "De Prasino conviva meus, venetoque loquatur." XIV., 131, "Si veneto Prasinove faves quid coccina sumis?"

<sup>2</sup> *Pulvere* is not without its force. Hannibal is said to have plowed up the land near Cannæ, that the wind which daily rose and blew in that direction might carry the dust into the eyes of the Romans. "Ventus (*Vulturnum incolæ regionis vocant*) adversus Romanis coortus, multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo, prospectum ademit." Liv., xxii., 46 and 43. Cf. Sat. ii., 155; x., 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Cuticula*. Pers., iv., 18, "Assiduo curata cuticula sole." 33, "Et figas in cute solem." V., 179. "Aprici meminisse senes." Mart., x., Ep. xii., 7, "Totos avidâ cute combibe soles." I., Ep. 78, "Sole utitur Charinus." Plin., Ep. iii., 1, "Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est (cf. ad Sat. x., 216), est autem hieme nona, æstate octava, in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus." Cicero mentions "apricatio" as one of the solaces of old age. De Sen., c. xvi.

"While we, my friend, whose skin grows old and dry,  
Court the warm sunbeam of an April sky." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Rarior usus*.

"Our very sports by repetition tire,  
But rare delight breeds ever new desire." Hodgson.

## SATIRE XII.

## ARGUMENT.

CATULLUS, a valued friend of the poet, had narrowly escaped shipwreck. In a letter of rejoicing to their common friend, Corvinus, Juvenal describes the danger that his friend had incurred, and his own hearty and disinterested delight at his preservation, contrasting his own sacrifices of thanksgiving at the event, with those offered by the designing legacy-hunters, by which the rich and childless were attempted to be ensnared.

THIS day, Corvinus, is a more joyful one to me than even my own birthday;<sup>1</sup> in which the festal altar of turf<sup>2</sup> awaits the animals promised to the gods.

To the queen of the gods we sacrifice a snow-white<sup>3</sup> lamb: a similar fleece shall be given to her that combated the Mauritanian Gorgon.<sup>4</sup> But the victim reserved for Tarpeian Jupiter, shakes, in his wantonness, his long-stretched<sup>5</sup> rope, and brandishes his forehead. Since he is a sturdy calf; ripe for the temple and the altar, and ready to be sprinkled with wine; ashamed any longer to drain his

<sup>1</sup> *Natali*. The birthday was sacred to the "Genius" to whom they offered wine, incense and flowers: abstaining from "bloody" sacrifices, "ne die quâ ipsi lucem acceperissent aliis demerent," Hor., ii., Ep. 144. "Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis avi," Pers., ii., 3. "Funde merum Genio," Censorin., de D. N., 3. Virg., Ecl. iii., 76. Compare Hor., Od., IV., xi., where he celebrates the birthday of Mæcenæ as "sanctior pœne natali proprio." Cf. Dennis's Etruria, vol. ii., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Cæspes*. Hor., Od., III., viii., 3, "Positusque carbo in cæspite vivo." Tac., Ann., i., 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Niveam*. A white victim was offered to the Dii Superi: a black one to the Inferi. Cf. Virg., Æn., iv., 60, "*Junoni* ante omnes, *Ipsa* tenens dextrâ pateram pulcherrima Dido *Candentis* vaccæ media inter cornua fundit." Tibull., I., ii., 61, "Concidit ad magicos hostia pulla deos." Hor., i., Sat. viii., 27, "Pullam divellere mordicus agnam."

<sup>4</sup> *Gorgone*. Cf. Vir., Æn., viii., 435, seq.; ii., 616.

<sup>5</sup> *Extensum*. It was esteemed a very bad omen if the victim did not go willingly to the sacrifice. It was always led, therefore, with a long slack rope.

mother's<sup>1</sup> teats, and butts the oaks with his sprouting horn.<sup>2</sup> Had I an ample fortune, and equal to my wishes, a bull fatter than Hispulla,<sup>3</sup> and slow-paced from his very bulk, should be led to sacrifice, and one not fed in a neighboring pasture; but his blood should flow, giving evidence of the rich pastures of Clitumnus,<sup>4</sup> and with a neck that must be struck by a ministering priest of great strength, to do honor to the return of my friend who is still trembling, and has recently endured great horrors, and wonders to find himself safe.

For besides the dangers of the sea, and the stroke of the lightning which he escaped, thick darkness obscured the sky in one huge cloud, and a sudden thunder-bolt struck the yard-arms, while every one fancied he was struck by it, and at once, amazed, thought that no shipwreck could be compared in horror with a ship on fire.<sup>5</sup> For all things hap-

<sup>1</sup> *Matris*. Cf. Hor., iv., Od. ii., 54, "Me tener solvet vitulus, relicta matre."

<sup>2</sup> *Nascenti*. Hor., iii., Od. xiii., 4, "Cui frons turgida cornibus Primis et Venerem, et praelia destinat."

"He flies his mother's teat with playful scorn,  
And butts the oak-trees with his growing horn." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Hispulla*. Cf. vi., 74, "Hispulla tragædo gaudet." (This was the name of the aunt of Pliny the Younger's wife, iv., Ep. 19; viii., 11.)

"Huge as Hispulla: scarcely to be slain

But by the stoutest servant of the train." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Clitumnus* was a small river in Umbria flowing into the Tinea, now "Topino," near Mevania, now "Timia." The Tinea discharges itself into the Tiber near Perusia. Pliny (viii., Ep. 8) gives a beautiful description of its source, now called "La Vene," in a letter which is, as Gifford says, a model of elegance and taste. Its waters were supposed to give a milk-white color to the cattle who drank of them. Virg., Georg., ii., 146, "Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus victima." Propert., II., xix., 25, "Quà formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco Integit et niveos abluit unda boves." Sil., iv., 547, "Clitumnus in arvis Candentes gelido perfundit flumine tauros." Claudian., vi., Cons. Hon., 506.

<sup>5</sup> *Ignis*. Grangeus interprets this of the meteoric fires seen in the Mediterranean, which, when seen single, were supposed to be fatal. Plin., ii., 37, "Graves cum solitarii venerunt mergentesque navigia, et si in carinæ ima deciderint, exurentes." These fires, when *double*, were hailed as a happy omen, as the stars of Castor and Pollux. "Fratres Helenæ lucida sidera," Hor., I., Od. iii., 2; cf. xii., 27. The



pen so, and with such horrors accompanying, when a storm arises in poetry.<sup>1</sup>

Now here follows another sort of danger. Hear, and pity him a second time; although the rest is all of the same description. Yet it is a very dreadful part, and one well known to many, as full many a temple testifies with its votive picture. (Who does not know that painters<sup>2</sup> are maintained by Isis?) A similar fortune befell our friend Catullus also: when the hold was half full of water, and when the waves heaved up each side alternately of the laboring ship, and the skill of the hoary pilot could render no service, he began to compound with the winds by throwing overboard, imitating the beaver who makes a eunuch<sup>3</sup> of himself, hoping to get off by the sacrifice of his testicles; so well does

French call it "Le feu St. Elme," said to be a corruption of "Hélène." The Italian sailors call them "St. Peter and St. Nicholas." But these only appear at the *close* of a storm. Cf. Hor., ii., *seq.*, and Blunt's *Vestiges*, p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> *Poetica tempestas.*

"So loud the thunder, such the whirlwind's sweep,  
As when the poet lashes up the deep." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Pictores.* So Hor., i., Od. v., 13, "Me tabulâ sacer votivâ paries indicat noida suspendisse potenti vestimenta maris Deo." It seems to have been the custom for persons in peril of shipwreck not only to vow pictures of their perilous condition to some deity in case they escaped, but also to have a painting of it made to carry about with them to excite commiseration as they begged. Cf. xiv., 302, "Naufragus assem dum rogat et pictâ se tempestate tuetur." Pers., i., 89, "Quum fractâ te in trabe pictum ex humero portes." VI., 32, "Largire inopi, ne pictus oberet cæreleâ in tabulâ." Hor., A. P., 20, "Fractis enatat exspes navibus, ære dato qui pingitur." Phæd., IV., xxi., 24. Some think that *this* picture was *afterward* dedicated, but this is an error.

<sup>3</sup> *Castora.* Ov., Nux., 165, "Sic ubi detracta est a te tibi causa pericli Quod superest tutum, Pontice Castor, habes!" The story of the beaver is told Plin., viii., 30; xxxvii., 6, and is repeated by Silius, in a passage copied from Ovid and Juvenal. "Fluminei veluti deprensus gurgitis undis, Avulsâ parte *inguinibus causâque pericli*, Enatat intento prædæ fiber avius hoste," xv., 485. But it is an error. The sebaceous matter called *castoreum* (Pers., v., 135), is secreted by two glands near the root of the tail. (Vid. Martyn's *Georgics*, i., 59, "Virosaque Pontus Castorea," and Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, lib. iii., 4.) Pliny, viii., 3, tells a similar story of the elephant, "Circumventi a venantibus dentes impactos arbori frangunt, prædâque se redimunt."

he know their medicinal properties. "Throw overboard all that belongs to me, the whole of it!" cried Catullus, eager to throw over even his most beautiful things—a robe of purple fit even for luxurious Mæceneses, and others whose very fleece the quality of the generous pasture has tinged, moreover the exquisite water with its hidden properties, and the atmosphere of Bætica<sup>1</sup> contributes to enhance its beauty. He did not hesitate to cast overboard even his plate, salvers the workmanship of Parthenius, a bowl<sup>2</sup> that would hold three gallons, and worthy of Pholus when thirsty, or even the wife of Fuscus.<sup>3</sup> Add to these bascaudæ,<sup>4</sup> and a thousand chargers, a quantity of emblematic work, out of which the cunning purchaser of Olynthus<sup>5</sup> had drunk. But what other man in these days, or in what quarter of the globe, has the courage to prefer his life to his

<sup>1</sup> *Bæticus*. The province of Bætica (Andalusia) takes its name from the Bætis, or "Guadalquivir," the waters of which were said to give a ruddy golden tinge to the fleeces of the sheep that drank it. Martial alludes to it repeatedly. "Non est lana mihi mendax, nec mutor aëno. Si placeant Tyriæ me mea tinxit ovis," xiv., Ep. 133. Cf. v., 37; viii., 28. "Vellera nativo pallent ubi flava metallo," ix., 62. "Aurea qui nitidis vellera tingis aquis," xii., 99.

"Away went garments of that innate stain  
That wool imbibes on Guadalquivir's plain,  
From native herbs and babbling fountains nigh,  
To aid the powers of Andalusia's sky." Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Urnæ*. Vid. ad vi., 426. Pholus was one of the Centaurs. Virg., Georg., ii., 455. Cf. Stat., Thebaid., ii., 564, seq., "Qualis in adversos Lapithas erexit inanem Magnanimus cratera Pholus," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Conjuge Fusci*. Vid. ad ix., 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Bascaudas*. The Celtic word "Basgawd" is said to be the root of the English word "basket." Vid. Latham's English language, p. 98. These were probably vessels surrounded with basket or rush work. Mart., xiv., Ep. 99, "Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis; sed me jam mavolt dicere Roma suam."

<sup>5</sup> *Olynthi*. Philip of Macedon bribed Lasthenes and Eurycrates to betray Olynthus to him. Pliny (xxxiii., 5) says he used to sleep with a gold cup under his pillow. Once, when told that the route to a castle he was going to attack was impracticable, he asked whether "an ass laden with gold could not possibly reach it." Plut., Apophth., ii., p. 178.

"A store  
Of precious cups, high chased in golden ore;  
Cups that adorn'd the crafty Philip's state,  
And bought his entrance at th' Olynthian gate." Hodgson.

money, and his safety to his property? Some men do not make fortunes for the sake of living, but, blinded by avarice, live for the sake of money-getting. The greatest part even of necessities is thrown overboard; but not even do these sacrifices relieve the ship—then, in the urgency of the peril, it came to such a pitch that he yielded his mast to the hatchet, and rights himself at last, though in a crippled state. Since this is the last resource in danger we apply, to make the ship lighter.

Go now, and commit your life to the mercy of the winds; trusting to a hewn plank, with but four digits<sup>1</sup> between you and death, or seven at most, if the deal is of the thickest. And then together with your provision-baskets and bread and wide-bellied flagon,<sup>2</sup> look well that you lay in hatchets,<sup>3</sup> to be brought into use in storms.

But when the sea subsided into calm, and the state of affairs was more propitious to the mariner, and his destiny prevailed over Eurus and the sea, when now the cheerful *Parcæ* draw kindlier tasks with benign hand, and spin white wool,<sup>4</sup> and what wind there is, is not much stronger than a moderate breeze, the wretched bark, with a poor make-shift, ran before it, with the sailors' clothes spread out, and with its only sail that remained: when now the south wind subsided,

<sup>1</sup> *Digitis*. Cf. xiv., 289, "*Tabulâ distinguitur undâ.*" Ovid, *Amor.*, ii., xi., 25, *Navita sollicitus qua ventos horret iniquos; Et prope tam letum quam prope cernit aquam.*"

"Trust to a little plank 'twixt death and thee,  
And by four inches 'scape eternity." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Ventre-lagenæ*. "A gorbellied flagon." Shakespeare.

<sup>3</sup> *Secures*. "His biscuit and his bread the sailor brings  
On board: 'tis well. But hatchets are the things."

Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Staminis albi*. The "white" or "black" threads of the *Parcæ* were supposed to symbolize the good or bad fortune of the mortal whose yarn *Clotho* was spinning. Mart., iv., Ep. 73, "*Ultima volventes orabat pensa sorores, Ut traherent parva stamina pulla morâ.*" VI., Ep. 58, "*Si mihi lanificæ ducunt non pulla sorores Stamina.*" Hor., ii., Od. iii., 16, "*Sorum fila trium patiuntur atra.*"

together with the sun hope of life returned. Then the tall peak beloved by Iulus, and preferred as a home by him to Lavinium,<sup>1</sup> his step-mother's seat, comes in sight; to which the white sow<sup>2</sup> gave its name—(an udder that excited the astonishment of the gladdened Phrygians)—illustrious from what had never been seen before, thirty paps. At length he enters the moles,<sup>3</sup> built through the waters inclosed within them, and the Pharos of Tuscany, and the arms extending back, which jut out into the middle of the sea, and leave Italy far behind. You would not bestow such admiration on the harbor which nature formed: but with damaged bark, the master steers for the inner smooth waters of the safe haven, which even a pinnacle of Baia could cross; and there with shaven crowns<sup>4</sup> the sailors, now relieved from anxiety, delight to recount their perils that form the subject of their prating.

<sup>1</sup> *Præolata Lavino*. Virg., *Æn.*, i., 267, *seq.* Liv., i., 1, 3. Tibull., II., v., 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Scrofa*. Virg., *Æn.*, iii., 390, "Littoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus, Triginta caput fœtus enixa jacebit, Alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati. Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum;" and viii., 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Moles*. This massive work was designed and begun by Julius Cæsar, executed by Claudius, and repaired by Trajan. It is said to have employed thirty thousand men for eleven years. Suetonius thus describes it (Claud., c. 20): "Portum Ostiæ exstruxit circumducto dextrâ sinistrâque brachis, et ad introitum profundo jam solo mole objectâ, quam quò stabilius fundaret, navem ante demersit, quâ magnus obeliscus, ex Ægypto fuerat advectus; congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrim in exemplum Alexandrini Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia dirigerent." (Cf. vi., 83. The Pharos of Alexandria was built by Sostratus, and accounted one of the seven wonders of the world.)

"Enter the moles, that running out so wide  
Clasp in their giant arms the billowy tide,  
That leave afar diminishing the land,

More wondrous than the works of nature's hand." Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Vertice raso*. It was the custom in storms at sea to vow the hair to some god, generally Neptune: and hence slaves, when manumitted, shaved their heads, "quod tempestatem servitutis videbantur effugere, ut naufragis liberati solent." Cf. Pers., iii., 106, "Hesterni capite inducto subiere Quirites." Hodgson has an excellent note on the "mystical attributes" of hair.

Go then, boys, favoring with tongues and minds,<sup>1</sup> and place garlands in the temples, and meal on the sacrificial knives, and decorate the soft hearths and green turf-altar. I will follow shortly, and the sacrifice which is most important<sup>2</sup> having been duly performed, I will then return home, where my little images, shining in frail wax, shall receive their slender chaplets. Here I will propitiate<sup>3</sup> my own Jove, and offer incense to my hereditary Lares,<sup>4</sup> and will display all colors of the violet. All things are gay; my gateway has set up long branches,<sup>5</sup> and celebrates the festivities<sup>6</sup> with lamps lighted in the morning.

Nor let these things be suspected by you, Corvinus. Catullus, for whose safe return I erect so many altars, has three little heirs. You may wait long enough for a man that would expend even a sick hen at the point of death for so unprofitable a friend. But even this is too great an outlay. Not even a quail will ever be sacrificed in behalf of one who

<sup>1</sup> *Linguis animisque faventes*. Cic., de Div., i., 102, "Omnibus rebus agendis, Quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque esset, præfabantur; rebusque divinis, quæ publicè fierent, ut faverent linguis imperabant: inque feriis imperandis ut litibus et jurgiis se abstererent." Cf. Hor., iii., Od. i., 2, "Favete linguis." Virg., Æn., v., 71, "Ore favete omnes." Hor., Od., III., xiv., 11; Tibull., II., ii., 2, "Quisquis ades linguâ, vir, mulierque fave." So εὐφημεῖν, cf. Eurip., Hec., 528, seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacro quod præstat*; i.e., the sacrifices mentioned in the beginning of the Satire, viz., to Juno, Pallas, and Tarpeian Jove, and therefore more important than those to the Lares.

<sup>3</sup> *Placabo*. Cf. Hor., i., Od. 36, l. Orell.

<sup>4</sup> *Nostrum*, i.e., his own Lar familiaris. Cf. ix., 137, "O Parvi nostrique Lares." For the worship of these Lares, Junones, and Genius, see Dennis's Etruria, vol. i., p. lv.

<sup>5</sup> *Erexit janua ramos*. Cf. ad ix., 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Operatur festa*. Perhaps read with Lipsius, "operitur festa," "in festive-guise is covered with." Virgil, however, uses "operatus" similarly. Georg., i., 339, "Sacra refer Cereri lætis operatus in herbis." Cf. ad ix., 117.

"All savors here of joy: luxuriant bay  
O'er shades my portal, while the taper's ray  
Anticipates the feast and chides the tardy day." Gifford.

is a father. If rich Gallita<sup>1</sup> and Paccius, who have no children, begin to feel the approach of fever, every temple-porch is covered with votive tablets,<sup>2</sup> affixed according to due custom. There are some who would even promise a hecatomb<sup>3</sup> of oxen. Since elephants are not to be bought here or in Latium, nor is there any where in our climate such a large beast generated; but, fetched from the dusky nation, they are fed in the Rutulian forests, and the field of Turnus, as the herd of Cæsar, prepared to serve no private individual, since their ancestors used to obey Tyrian Hannibal, and our own generals,<sup>4</sup> and the Molossian king, and to bear on their backs cohorts—no mean portion of the war—and a tower that went into battle. It is no fault, consequently, of Novius, or of Ister Pacuvius,<sup>6</sup> that that ivory is not led to the altars, and falls a sacred victim before the Lares of Gallita, worthy of such great gods, and those that court their favor! One of these two fellows, if you would give him license to perform the sacrifice, would vow the tallest or all the most beautiful persons among his flock of slaves, or place sacrificial fillets on his boys and the brows

<sup>1</sup> *Gallita*. Tacitus (Hist., i., 73) speaks of a Gallita Crispilina, or, as some read, Calvia Crispinilla, as a “magistra libidinum Neronis,” and as “potens pecuniâ et orbitate, quæ bonis malisque temporibus juxta valent.” Paccius Africanus is mentioned also Hist., iv., 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabellis*. Cf. ad x., 55, “Propter quæ fas est genua incerare deorum.”

<sup>3</sup> *Hecatomben*. The hecatomb properly consisted of oxen, 100 being sacrificed simultaneously on 100 different altars. But sheep or other victims were also offered. The poor sometimes vowed an ὠὼν ἑκατόμβη. Emperors are said to have sacrificed 100 lions or eagles. Suetonius says, that above 160,000 victims were slaughtered in honor of Caligula's entering the city. Calig., c. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Nostris ducibus*. Curius Dentatus was the first to lead elephants in triumph. Metellus, after his victory over Asdrubal, exhibited two hundred and four. Plin., viii., 6. L. Scipio, father-in-law to Pompey, employed thirty in battle against Cæsar. The Romans first saw elephants in the Tarentine war, against Pyrrhus; and as they were first encountered in Lucania, they gave the elephant the name of “Bos Lucas.” So Hannibal. See x., 158, “Gætula ducem portaret bellua luscum.”

<sup>6</sup> *Ister Pacuvius*. Cf. ii., 58.



of his female slaves. And if he has any Iphigenia<sup>1</sup> at home of marriageable age, he will offer her at the altars, though he can not hope for the furtive substitution of the hind of the tragic poets. I commend my fellow-citizen, and do not compare a thousand<sup>2</sup> ships to a will; for if the sick man shall escape Libitina,<sup>3</sup> he will cancel his former will, entangled in the meshes of the act,<sup>4</sup> after a service so truly wonderful: and perhaps in one short line will give his all to Pacuvius as sole<sup>5</sup> heir. Proudly will he strut over his defeated rivals. You see, therefore, what a great recompense the slaughtered Mycenian maid earns.

Long live Pacuvius, I pray, even to the full age of Nestor.<sup>6</sup> Let him own as much as ever Nero plundered,<sup>7</sup> let him pile his gold mountains high, and let him love no one,<sup>8</sup> and be loved by none.

<sup>1</sup> *Iphigenia*. Cf. Æsch., Ag., 39, seq., and the exquisite lines in Lucretius, i., 85-102: but Juvenal seems to have had Ovid's lines in his head. Met., xii., 28, seq., "Postquam pietatem publica causa, Rexque patrem vicit, castumque datura cruorem Flentibus ante aram stetit Iphigenia ministris: Victa dea est, nubemque oculis objecit, et inter Officium turbamque sacri, vocesque precantum, Supposita fertur mutasse Mycenida cervâ."

<sup>2</sup> *Mille*. στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην. Æsch., Ag., 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Libitinam*. Properly an epithet of Venus (the goddess who presides over deaths as well as births), in whose temple all things belonging to funerals were sold. Cf. Plut., Qu. Rom., 23. Servius Tullius enacted that a sestertius should be deposited in the temple of Venus Libitina for every person that died, in order to ascertain the number of deaths. Dion. Halic., iv., 79. Cf. Liv., xl., 19; xli., 21. Suet., Ner., 39, "triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt." Hor., iii., Od. xxx., 6; ii., Sat. vi., 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Nassa* is properly an "osier weel," κύρτη, for catching fish. Plin., xxi., 18, 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Solo*. Cf. i., 68, "Exiguistabulis;" ii., 58, "Solo tabulas impleverit Hister Liberto;" vi., 601, "Impletet tabulas."

"What are a thousand vessels to a will!

Yes! every blank Pacuvius' name shall fill." Hodgson.

<sup>6</sup> *Nestora*. Cf. Hom., Il., i., 250; Od., iii., 245. Mart., vi., Ep. lxx., 12, "Ætatem Priami Nestorisque." X., xxiv., 11. Cf. ad x., 246.

<sup>7</sup> *Rapuit Nero*. Vid. Tac., Ann., xv., 42, Brotier's note. Suetonius (Nero, c. 32), after many instances of his rapacity, subjoins the following: "Nulli delegavit officium ut non adjiceret Scis quid mihi opus sit:" et "Hoc agamus ne quis quidquam habeat." "Ultimot emplis compluribus dona detraxit."

<sup>8</sup> *Nec amet*. "Nor ever be, nor ever find, a friend!" Dryden.

## SATIRE XIII.

## ARGUMENT.

CALVINUS had left a sum of money in the hands of a confidential person, who, when he came to re-demand it, forswore the deposit. The indignation and fury expressed by Calvinus at this breach of trust, reached the ears of his friend Juvenal, who endeavors to soothe and comfort him under his loss. The different topics of consolation follow one another naturally and forcibly, and the horrors of a troubled conscience were perhaps never depicted with such impressive solemnity as in this Satire.

EVERY act that is perpetrated, that will furnish a precedent for crime, is loathsome<sup>1</sup> even to the author himself. This is the punishment that first lights upon him, that by the verdict<sup>2</sup> of his own breast no guilty man is acquitted; though the corrupt influence of the prætor may have made his cause prevail, by the urn<sup>3</sup> being tampered with. What think you, Calvinus,<sup>4</sup> is the opinion of all men touching the recent villainy, and the charge you bring of breach of trust? But it is your good fortune not to have so slender an

<sup>1</sup> *Displicet*.

"To none their crime the wished-for pleasure yields;

"Tis the first scourge that angry justice wields." Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Ultio*.

"Avenging conscience first the sword shall draw,

And self-conviction baffle quibbling law." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Urna*. From the "Judices Selecti" (a kind of jurymen chosen annually for the purpose), the Prætor Urbanus, who sat as chief judge, chose by lot about fifty to act as his assessors. To each of these were given three tablets: one inscribed with the letter A. for "absolvo," one with the letter C. for "condemno," and the third with the letters N. L. for "non liquet," i.e., "not proven." After the case had been heard and the judices had consulted together privately, they returned into court, and each judex dropped one of these tablets into an urn provided for the purpose, which was afterward brought to the prætor, who counted the number and gave sentence according to the majority of votes. In all these various steps, there was plenty of opportunity for the "gratia" of a corrupt prætor to influence the "fallax urna."

<sup>4</sup> *Calvinus*. Martial mentions an indifferent poet of the name of Calvinus Umber, vii., Ep. 90.

income, that the weight of a trifling loss can plunge you into ruin ; nor is what you are suffering from an unfrequent occurrence. This is a case well known to many—worn threadbare—drawn from the middle of fortune's heap.<sup>1</sup>

Let us, then, lay aside all excessive complaints. A *man's* grief ought not to blaze forth beyond the proper bounds, nor exceed the loss sustained. Whereas *you* can scarcely bear even the very least diminutive particle of misfortune, however trifling, boiling with rage in your very bowels because your friend does not restore to you the deposit he swore to return. Can *he* be amazed at this, that has left threescore years behind him, born when Fonteius was consul?<sup>2</sup> Have you gained<sup>3</sup> nothing by such long experience of the world? Noble indeed are the precepts which philosophy, that triumphs over fortune, lays down in her books of sacred wisdom. Yet we deem those happy too who, with daily life<sup>4</sup> for their instructress, have learned to endure with patience the inconveniences of life, and not shake off the yoke.<sup>5</sup>

What day is there so holy that is not profaned by bringing to light theft, treachery, fraud—filthy lucre got by crime of every dye, and money won by stabbing or by poison?<sup>6</sup> Since

<sup>1</sup> *Acervo*. "One that from casual heaps without design Fortune drew forth, and bade the lot be thine." Badh.

<sup>2</sup> *Fonteio consule*. Clinton. (F. R., A.D. 118) considers that the consulship meant is that of L. Fonteius Capito, A.D. 59, which would bring the reference in this Satire to A.D. 119, the third year of Hadrian. There was also a Fonteius Capito consul with Junius Rufus, A.D. 67, and another, A.D. 11. [The Fonteius Capito mentioned Hor., i., Sat. v., 32, is of course far too early.]

<sup>3</sup> *Proficis*. "Say, hast thou naught imbibed, no maxims sage, From the long use of profitable age?" Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Vitæ*. So Milton. "To know That which before us lies in daily life, Is the prime wisdom."

<sup>5</sup> *Jactare jugum*. A metaphor from restive oxen. Cf. vi., 208, "Summitte caput cervicem paratâ Ferre jugum." Æsch., Persæ, 190, seq.

"And happy those whom life itself can train To bear with dignity life's various pain." Badham.

<sup>6</sup> *Pyxide*. Properly a coffer or casket of "box-wood," *πυξίς*. Cf.

rare indeed are the good ! their number is scarce so many as the gates of Thebes,<sup>1</sup> or the mouths of fertilizing Nile. We are now passing through the ninth age of the world : an era far worse than the days of Iron ; for whose villainy not even Nature herself can find a name, and has no metal<sup>2</sup> base enough to call it by. Yet we call heaven and earth to witness, with a shout as loud as that with which the Sportula,<sup>3</sup> that gives them tongues, makes his clients applaud Fæsidius as he pleads. Tell me, thou man of many years, and yet more fit to bear the boss<sup>4</sup> of childhood, dost thou not know the charms that belong to another's money ? Knowest thou not what a laugh thy simplicity would raise in the common herd, for expecting that no man should forswear himself, but should believe some deity is<sup>5</sup> really present in the temples and at the altars red with blood ? In days of old the aborigines perhaps used to live after this fashion : before Saturn in his flight laid down his diadem, and adopted the rustic sickle :

Sat. ii., 141, "Conditâ pyxide Lyde." Suet., Ner., 47, "Veneno a Locustâ sumpto, et in auream pyxidem condito."

<sup>1</sup> *Thebarum*. Egyptian Thebes had one hundred gates ; hence ἐκατόμυλοι. Cadmeian Thebes had seven. Vid. Hom., Il., Δ., 406. Æsch., S. Th., ἐπτάπυλος Θάβη. The latter is meant. The mouths of the Nile being also seven, viz., Canopic, Bolbitine, Sebennytic, Phatnitic, Mendesian, Tanitic, and Pelusiac. Hence Virg., Æn., vi., 801, "Septem gemini trepida ostia Nili." Ov., Met., v., 187, "Septemplíce Nilo." xv., 753, "Perque papyriferi septemflua flumina Nili."

<sup>2</sup> *Metallo*.

"That baffled Nature knows not how to frame

A metal base enough to give the age a name." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Sportula*. Vid. ad i., 118. Cf. x., 46, "Defossa in oculis quos sportula fecit amicos." Mart., vi., Ep. 48. Hor., i., Epist. xix., 37. Plin., ii., Ep. 14, "Laudicæni sequuntur : In media Basilicâ sportulæ dantur palam ut in triclinio : tanti constat ut sis disertissimus : hoc pretio subsellia implentur, hoc infiniti clamores commoventur."

<sup>4</sup> *Bullâ*. Cf. v., 165, seq. ; xiv., 5. Pers., v., 31, "Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pendit. Plut. in Quæst. Rom., γέρων τις ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ προάγεται παιδικὸν ἐναψάμενος περιδέραιον ὃ καλοῦσι βοῦλλαν.

"O man of many years that still should'st wear

The trinket round the neck thy childhood bare !" Badham.

<sup>5</sup> *Esse*. Cf. ii., 149, seq., "Esse aliquos Manes et subterranea regna, . . . Nec pueri credunt nisi qui nondum ære lavantur." Cf. Ov., Amor., III., iii., 1.

in the days when Juno was a little maid ; and Jupiter as yet in a private<sup>1</sup> station in the caves of Ida : no banquetings of the celestials above the clouds, no Trojan boy or beautiful wife of Hercules as cup-bearer ; or Vulcan (but not till he had drained the nectar) wiping<sup>2</sup> his arms begrimed with his forge in Lipara. Then each godship dined alone ; nor was the crowd of deities so great<sup>3</sup> as it is nowadays : and the heavens, content with a few divinities, pressed on the wretched Atlas with less grievous weight. No one had as yet received as his share the gloomy empire of the deep : nor was there the grim Pluto<sup>4</sup> with his Sicilian bride, nor Ixion's wheel, nor the Furies, nor Sisyphus' stone, nor the punishment of the black vulture,<sup>5</sup> but the shades passed jocund days with no infernal king.

In that age villainy was a prodigy ! They used to hold it as a heinous sin, that naught but death could expiate, if a young man had not risen up to pay honor to an old one,<sup>6</sup> or a

<sup>1</sup> *Privatus*. This is commonly rendered by "concealed, sequestered," alluding to Jupiter's being hidden by his mother Rhea to save him from "Saturn's maw." But it surely means before he succeeded his father as king, and this is the invariable sense of "*privatus*" in Juvenal. Cf. i., 16, "*Privatus ut altum dormiret.*" iv., 65, "*Accipe Privatis majora focis.*" vi., 114, "*Quid privata domus, quid fecerit Hippia, curas.*" xii., 107, "*Cæsaris armentum, nulli servire paratum Privato.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Tergens*. This appears to be the best and simplest interpretation of this "much-vexed" passage, and is the sense in which Lucian (frequently the best commentator on Juvenal) takes it. Vid. *Deor.*, Dial. v., 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Talis*. More properly, "composed of *such* divinities." The allusion being in all probability to the now frequent apotheosis of the most worthless and despicable of the emperors.

<sup>4</sup> *Torvus*. The Homeric ἀμείλιχος. Cf. Hom., Il., i., 158, Ἀΐδης ἀμείλιχος, ἢ δ' ἀδάμαστος Τούνεκα καὶ τε βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἐχθιστος ἀπάντων.

<sup>5</sup> *Vulturis atri*. Cf. Æschylus, Pr. V., 1020. Virg., Æn., vi., 595, "Rostroque immanis vultur obunco, Immortale jecur tondens, fœcundaque pœnis viscera, rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis."

"Wheels, furies, vultures, quite unheard of things,

And the gay ghosts were strangers yet to kings!" Badham.

<sup>6</sup> *Vetulo*. Cf. Ov., Fast., v., 57, *seq.*, which passage Juvenal seems to have had in his mind.

to one whose beard was grown; even though he himself gorged over more strawberries at home, or a bigger pile of acorns.<sup>1</sup>

So just a claim to deference had even four years' priority; so much on a par with venerated old age was the first down of youth! Now, if a friend should not deny the deposit<sup>2</sup> intrusted to him, if he should give back the old leathern purse with all its rusty<sup>3</sup> coin untouched, it is a prodigy of honesty, equivalent to a miracle,<sup>4</sup> fit to be entered among the marvels in the Tuscan records,<sup>5</sup> and that ought to be expiated by a lamb crowned for sacrifice.<sup>6</sup> If I see a man above the common herd, of real probity, I look upon him as a prodigy equal to a child born half man, half brute;<sup>7</sup> or a shoal of fish turned up by the astonished<sup>8</sup> plow; or a mule<sup>9</sup> with foal! in trepi-

<sup>1</sup> *Glandis*. Cf. Sat., vi., init.

<sup>2</sup> *Depositum*. Terent., Phorm., I., ii., 5, "Præsertim ut nunc sunt mores; adeo res redit; Si quis quid reddit, magna habenda 'st gratia."

<sup>3</sup> *Ærugo*, the rust of brass; robigo, of iron; but, l. 148, used for the oxydizing of gold or silver. *Follis*, cf., xiv., 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Prodigiosa*, ii., 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Tuscis libellis*. Vid. Dennis' Etruria, vol. i., p. lvii. The marvelous events of the year were registered by the Etruscan soothsayers in their records, that, if they portended the displeasure of the gods, they might be duly expiated. Various names are given by ancient writers to these sacred or ritual books: Libri Etrusci; Chartæ Etrusæ; Scripta Etrusca; Etrusæ disciplinæ libri; libri fatales, rituales, haruspicipini, fulgurales; libri Tagetici; sacra Tagetica; sacra Acherontica; libra Acherontici. The author of these works on Etruscan discipline was supposed to be Tages; and the names of some writers on the same subject are given, probably commentators on Tages, e.g., Tarquiti, Cæcina, Aquila, Labeo, Begoë. *Umbricius*. Cf. Cic., de Div., i., 12, 13, 44; ii., 23. Liv., v., 15. Macrobi., Saturn., iii., 7; v. 19. Serv. ad Virg., Æn., i., 42; iii., 537; viii., 398. Plin., ii., 85. Festus, s. v. Rituales.

<sup>6</sup> *Sanctum*. Cf. iii., 137; viii., 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Bimembri*, or "with double limbs." All these prodigies are common enough in Livy.

<sup>8</sup> *Miranti* is quite Juvenalian, and better than the common reading "Mirandis," or the suggestion "liranti."

<sup>9</sup> *Mulæ*. Cf. Cic., de Div., ii., 28, "Si quod rarò fit, id portentum putandum est sapientem esse portentum est; sæpius enim mulam pederisse arbitror, quam sapientem fuisse."



dation as great as though the storm-cloud had rained stones ;<sup>1</sup> or a swarm of bees<sup>2</sup> had settled in long cluster from some temple's top ; as though a river had flowed into the ocean with unnatural eddies,<sup>3</sup> and rushing impetuous with a stream of milk.

Do you complain of being defrauded of *ten* sestertia by impious fraud ? What if another has lost in the same way two hundred, deposited without a witness !<sup>4</sup> and a third a still larger sum than that, such as the corner of his capacious strong-box could hardly contain ! So easy and so natural is it to despise the gods above,<sup>5</sup> that witness all, if no mortal man attest the same ! See with how bold a voice he denies it ! What unshaken firmness in the face he puts on ! He swears by the sun's rays, by the thunderbolts of Tarpeian Jove, the glaive of Mars, the darts of the prophet-god of Cirrha,<sup>6</sup> by the arrows and quiver of the Virgin Huntress, and by thy trident, O Neptune, father of the Ægæan ! He adds the bow of Hercules, Minerva's spear, and all the weapons that the arsenals of heaven hold.<sup>7</sup> But if he be a

<sup>1</sup> *Lapides*. Cf. Liv., xxxix., 37. This prodigy was one of the causes of consulting the sacred books, which led to the introduction of the worship of Bona Dea to Rome. Cf. ad ix., 37. Liv., xxii., l., "Præneste ardentes lapides cœlo cecidisse."

<sup>2</sup> *Apium*. Cf. Liv., xxiv., 10. Tac., Ann., xii., 64, "Fastigo Capitoli examen apium insedit: biformes hominem partus." Plin., xi., 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Gurgitibus*. Liv., xix., 44, "Flumen Amiterni cruentum fluxisse." Virg., Georg., i., 485, "Aut puteis manare cruor cessavit."

<sup>4</sup> *Arcana*. "Fidei alterius tacite commissa sine ullis testibus." Lubin. Another interpretation is, "that, having lost it, he held his tongue, and complained to no one."

<sup>5</sup> *Superos*.

"Those conscious powers we can with ease contemn,  
If, hid from men, we trust our crimes with them." Dryden.

<sup>6</sup> *Cirrhai*, from Cirrha, in Phocis, near the foot of Mount Parnassus, the port of Delphi. Cf. vii., 64, "Dominis Cirrhæ Nysæque feruntur Pectora."

<sup>7</sup> *Spicula*, probably from Tibull., I., iv., 21.

"Nec jurare time. Veneris perjuria venti  
Irrita per terras et freta summa ferunt.  
Perque suas impune sinit Dictynna sagittas  
Affirmes, crines perque Minerva suos."

father also, he says, "I am ready to eat my wretched son's head boiled, swimming in vinegar from Pharos."<sup>1</sup>

There are some who refer all things to the accidents of fortune,<sup>2</sup> and believe the universe moves on with none to guide its course; while nature brings round the revolutions of days and years. And therefore, without a tremor, are ready to lay their hands<sup>3</sup> on any altar. Another does indeed dread that punishment will follow crime; he thinks the gods *do* exist. Still he perjures himself, and reasons thus with himself: "Let Isis<sup>4</sup> pass whatever sentence she pleases upon my body, and strike my eyes with her angry Sistrum, provided only that when blind I may retain the money I disown. Are consumption, or ulcerous sores, or a leg shriveled to half its bulk, such mighty matters? If Ladas<sup>5</sup> be poor, let him not hesitate to wish for gout that waits on wealth, if he is not mad enough to require Anticyra<sup>6</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> *Phario*. The vinegar of Egypt was more celebrated than its wine. Cf. Mart., xiii., Ep. 122. Ath., ii., 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Fortunæ*. See this idea beautifully carried out in Claudian's invective against Rufinus, lib. i., 1-24. Such was Horace's religion. "Credat Judæus Apella, Non ego: namque deos didici securum agere ævum; nec si quid miri faciat Natura deos id tristes ex alto cœli demittere tecto." I., Sat., v. 100. Not so Cicero. "Intelligamus nihil horum esse fortuitum." De Nat. Deor., ii., 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Tangunt*. Cf. xiv., 218, "Vendet perjuriam summâ exiguè et Cerebris tangens aramq. pedemq."

<sup>4</sup> *Isis*. Cf. vi., 526. Lucan., viii., 831, "Nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isim Semideosque canes, et sistra jubentia luctus et quem tu plangens hominem testaris Osirin." Blindness, the most common of Egyptian diseases, was supposed to be the peculiar infliction of Isis. Cf. Ovid, ex Pont., i., 51, "Vidi ego linigeræ numen violasse fatentem Isis Isaac ante sedere focos. Alter ob hunc similem privatus lumine culpam, clamabat media se meruisse via." Pers., v., 186, "Tunc grandes Galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos." Sistrum a σείω.

<sup>5</sup> *Ladas*. A famous runner at Olympia, in the days of Alexander the Great. Cf. Mart., x., Ep. 100, "Habeas licebit alterum pedem Ladæ, Inepte, frustra crure ligneo curres;" and ii., 86. Catull., iv., 24, "Non si Pegaseo ferar volatu, Non Ladas si ego, pennipesve Perseus."

<sup>6</sup> *Anticyrâ*, in Phocis, famous for hellebore, supposed to be of great efficacy in cases of insanity: hence Hor., ii., Sat. iii., 83, "Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem." 166, "naviget Anticyram."

Archigenes.<sup>1</sup> For what avails the honor of his nimble feet, or the hungry branch of Pisa's olive? All-powerful though it be, that anger of the gods, yet surely it is slow-paced! If, therefore, they set themselves to punish all the guilty, when will they come to me? Besides, I may perchance discover that the deity may be appeased by prayers! It is not unusual with him to pardon<sup>2</sup> such perjuries as these. Many commit the same crimes with results widely different. One man receives crucifixion<sup>3</sup> as the reward of his villainy; another, a regal crown!"

Thus they harden their minds, agitated by terror inspired by some heinous crime. Then, when you summon him to swear on the sacred shrine, he will go first!<sup>4</sup> Nay, he is quite ready to drag you there himself, and worry you to put him to this test. For when a wicked cause is backed by impudence, it is believed by many to be the confidence<sup>5</sup> of innocence. He acts as good a farce as the runaway slave, the

Pers. iv., 16, "Anticyras melior sorbere meracas." Its Greek name is Ἀντίκυρα. Strabo, ix., 3. The quantity therefore in Latin follows the Greek accent. The Phocian Anticyra produced the best hellebore; but it was also found at Anticyra on the Malian Gulf, near Ceta. Some think there was a third town of the same name. Hence "Tribus Anticyris caput insanabile." Hor., A. P., 300.

<sup>1</sup> *Archigene*. Cf. vi., 236; xiv., 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Ignoscere*. "Contemnere pauper creditur atque deos diis ignoscentibus ipsis," iii., 145. So Plautus:

"Atque hoc scelesti illi in animum inducunt suum.

Jovem se placare posse donis hostiis,

Et operam et sumptum perdunt: ideo fit, quia

Nihil ei acceptum est a perjuris supplicii."

<sup>3</sup> *Crucem*. Badham quotes an Italian epigram, which says that "the successful adventurer gets crosses hung on him, the unsuccessful gets hung on the cross."

"Some made by villainy, and some undone,

And this ascend a scaffold, that a throne." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Præcedit*.

"Dare him to swear, he with a cheerful face

Flies to the shrine, and bids thee mend thy pace:

He urges, goes before thee, shows the way,

Nay, pulls thee on, and chides thy dull delay." Dryden.

<sup>5</sup> *Fiducia*,

"For desperate boldness is the rogue's defense,

And sways the court like honest confidence." Hodgson.

buffoon in Catullus<sup>1</sup> Vision! You, poor wretch, cry out so as to exceed Stentor<sup>2</sup> or, rather, as loudly as Gradivus<sup>3</sup> in Homer: "Hearest thou<sup>4</sup> this, great Jove, and openest not thy lips, when thou oughtest surely to give vent to some word, even though formed of marble or of brass? Or, why then do we place on thy glowing altar the pious<sup>5</sup> frankincense from the wrapper undone, and the liver of a calf cut up, and the white caul of a hog?<sup>6</sup> As far as I see, there is no difference to be made between your image and the statue of Vagellius!"<sup>7</sup>

Now listen to what consolation on the other hand he can offer, who has neither studied the Cynics, nor the doctrines of the Stoics, that differ from the Cynics only by a tunic,<sup>8</sup> and pays no veneration to Epicurus,<sup>9</sup> that delighted in the

<sup>1</sup> *Catulli*. Cf. ad viii., 186. Urbani some take as a proper name. Others in the same sense as Sat. vii., 11. Catull., xxii., 2, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Stentora*. Hom., Il., v., 785, Στέντορα φαλκεόφωνον, ὅς τόνον αὐδήσαςχ' ὅσον ἄλλοι πενήκοντα.

<sup>3</sup> *Gradivus*. ii., 128. Hom., Il., v., 859, ὅσσον τ' ἐννεάχιλοι ἐπίαχον ἢ δεκάχιλοι ἄνδρες—ἔβραχε.

<sup>4</sup> *Audis*. Cf. ii., 130, "Nec galeam quassas nec terram cuspidē pulsas, nec quereris patri?" Virg., *Æn.*, iv., 206, "Jupiter Omnipotens! Adspicis hæc? an te, genitor, quum fulmina torques, nequicquam horremus? cæcique in nubibus ignes terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?" Both passages are ludicrously parodied in the beginning of Lucian's *Timon*.

<sup>5</sup> *Thura*. So Mart., iii., Ep. ii., 5, "Thuris piperisque cucullus." Ovid, *Heroid.*, xi., 4. Virgil applies the epithet *pia* to the "Vitta," *Æn.*, iv., 637, and to "Far," v., 745.

<sup>6</sup> *Porci*. Cf. x., 355, "Exta, et candiduli divina tomacula porci."

<sup>7</sup> *Vagellius*. Perhaps the "desperate ass" mentioned xvi., 23. Some read *Bathylli*.

<sup>8</sup> *Tunica*. The Stoics wore tunics under their gowns, the Cynics waistcoats only, or a kind of pallium, doubled when necessary. Hor., i., Ep. xvii., 25, "Contra, quem duplici panno patientia ve at." Diogenes pro pallio et tunicâ contentus erat unâ abollâ ex vili panno confecta, quâ dupliciter amiciebatur. Cynicorum hunc habitum ideo vocabant διπλοῖδα. Hi igitur ἀχίτωνες quidem sed διπλοεῖματοι. Orell., ad loc. Cf. Diog. Laert., VI., ii., iii., 22, τριβωνα διπλώσας πρωτός.

<sup>9</sup> *Epicurum*. Cf. xiv., 319, "Quantum Epicure tibi parvis suffecit in hostis." Pliny says, xix., 4, he was the first who introduced the custom of having a garden to his town house. Prop., III., xxi., 26,

plants of his diminutive garden. Let patients whose cases are desperate be tended by more skillful physicians; you may trust *your* vein even to Philippus' apprentice. If you can show me no act so heinous in the whole wide world, then, I hold my tongue; nor forbid you to beat your breast with your fists, nor thump your face with open palm. For, since you really *have* sustained loss, your doors must be closed; and money is bewailed with louder lamentations from the household, and with greater tumult,<sup>1</sup> than deaths. No one, in such a case, counterfeits sorrow; or is content with merely stripping<sup>2</sup> down the top of his garment, and vexing his eyes for forced rheum.<sup>3</sup> The loss of money is deplored with genuine tears.

But if you see all the courts filled with similar complaints, if, after the deeds have been read ten times over, and each time in a different quarter,<sup>4</sup> though their own handwriting,<sup>5</sup> and their principal signet-ring,<sup>6</sup> that is kept so carefully in its ivory casket, convicts them, they call the signature a for-

"Hortis docte Epicure, tuis." Stat. Sylv., I., iii., 94. "The garden of Epicurus," says Gifford, "was a school of temperance; and would have afforded little gratification, and still less sanction, to those sensualists of our day, who, in turning hogs, flatter themselves that they are becoming Epicureans."

<sup>1</sup> *Tumultu.*

"And louder sobs and hoarser tumults spread

For ravish'd pence, than friends or kinsmen dead." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Deducere.* Ov., Met., vi., 403, "Dicitur unus flesse Pelops humerumque suas ad pectora postquam *deduxit vestes*, ostendisse."

<sup>3</sup> *Humore coacto.* Ter., Eun., I., i., 21, "Hæc verba una mehercle falsa lacrymula Quam oculos terendo miserè vix vi expresserit Restinguet." Virg., Æn., ii., 196, "captique dolis lacrymisque coactis."

<sup>4</sup> *Diversâ parte.* Others interpret it as being "read by the opposite party;" as vii., 156, "quæ veniant diversa parte sagittæ."

<sup>5</sup> *Vana supervacui*, repeated xvi., 41

<sup>6</sup> *Sardonychus.* Pliny says the sardonix was the principal gem employed for seals, "quoniam sola prope gemmarum scalpta ceram non aufert." xxxvii., 6.

"If rogues deny their bond (though ten times o'er  
Perused by careful witnesses before),  
Whose well-known hand proclaims the glaring lie,  
Whose master-signet proves the perjury." Hodgson.

gery and the deed not valid ; do you think that you, my fine fellow, are to be placed without the common pale ? What makes *you* the chick of a white hen, while we are a worthless brood, hatched from unlucky eggs ? What you suffer is a trifle ; a thing to be endured with moderate choler, if you but turn your eyes to crimes of blacker dye. Compare with it the hired assassin, fires that originate from the sulphur of incendiaries,<sup>1</sup> when your *outer* gate is the first part that catches fire. Compare those who carry off the ancient temple's massive cups,<sup>2</sup> incrustated with venerable rust—the gifts of nations ; or, crowns<sup>3</sup> deposited there by some king of ancient days. If these are not to be had, there comes some sacrilegious wretch that strikes at meaner prey ; who will scrape the thigh of Hercules incased in gold, and Neptune's face itself, and strip off from Castor his leaf-gold. Will he, forsooth, hesitate, that is wont to melt down whole the Thunderer<sup>4</sup> himself ? Compare, too, the compounders and venders of poisons ;<sup>5</sup> or him that ought to be launched into the sea in an ox's hide,<sup>6</sup> with whom the ape,<sup>7</sup> herself innocent, is shut up, through her unlucky stars. How small a

<sup>1</sup> *Incendia*. Cf. ix., 98, "Sumere ferrum, Fuste aperire caput, candela apponere valvis, non dubitat."

<sup>2</sup> *Grandia pocula*. Alluding perhaps to some of Nero's sacrilegious spoiliations. Suet., Ner., 32, 38. It was customary for kings and nations allied with Rome to send crowns and other valuable offerings to the temple of Capitoline Jove and others.

<sup>3</sup> *Coronas*. "Gifts of great nations, crowns of pious kings ! Goblets, to which undated tarnish clings !" Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Tonantem*. Vid. Dennis's Etruria, vol. i., p. li. Cf. Suet., Nero, 32, fin. Milman's Horace, p. 66.

"Is much respect for Castor to be felt

By those whose crucibles whole Thunderers melt ?" Badh.

<sup>5</sup> *Mercatoremque veneni*. Shakspeare, Rom. and Jul.,

"And if a man did need a poison now,

Whose sale is present death in Mantua,

Here lives a caitiff wretch would sell it him."

<sup>6</sup> *Corio*. Browne seems to understand this of "a leathern canoe or coracle," but ?

<sup>7</sup> *Simia*. Cf. ad viii., 214, "Cujus supplicio non debeat una parari simia nec serpens unus nec culeus unus."



portion is this of the crimes which Gallicus,<sup>1</sup> the city's guardian, listens to from break of day to the setting of the sun! Would you study the morals of the human race, one house is quite enough. Spend but a few days there, and when you come out thence, call yourself, if you dare, a miserable man!

Who is astonished at a goitred throat<sup>2</sup> on the Alps? or who, in Meroë,<sup>3</sup> at the mother's breast bigger than her chubby infant? Who is amazed at the German's<sup>4</sup> fierce gray eyes, or his flaxen hair with moistened ringlets twisted into horns? Simply because, in these cases, one and all are alike by nature.

<sup>1</sup> *Gallicus*. Statius has a poem (Sylv., I., iv.), "*Soteria pro Rutilio Gallico*." "*Quem penes intrepidæ mitis custodia Romæ*." This book was probably written, cir. A.D. 94, after the Thebais. This Rut. Gallicus Valens was præfectus urbis and chief magistrate of police for Domitian; probably succeeding Pegasus (Sat. iv., 77), who was appointed by Vespasian. For the office, see Tac., Ann., vi., 10, seq. It was in existence even under Romulus, and continued through the republic. Augustus, by Mæcenas' advice, greatly increased its authority and importance. Its jurisdiction was now extended to a circuit of one hundred miles outside the city walls. The præfectus decided in all causes between masters and slaves, patrons and clients, guardians and wards; had the inspection of the mint, the regulation of the markets, and the superintendence of public amusements.

<sup>2</sup> *Guttur*. This affection has been attributed, ever since the days of Vitruvius, to the drinking the mountain water. "*Æquicolis in Alpibus est genus aquæ quam qui bibunt afficiuntur tumidis gutturibus*," viii., 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Meroë*, vi., 528, in Ethiopia, is the largest island formed by the Nile, with a city of the same name, which was the capital of a kingdom. Strab., i., 75. Herod., ii., 29. It is now "Atbar," and forms part of Sennaar and Abyssinia.

<sup>4</sup> *Germani*. Cf. ad viii., 252.—*Flavam*. Galen says the Germans should be called *πυρροί* rather than *ξανθοί*. So Mart., xiv., Ep. 176, "*Rufus Batavus*." Sil., iii., 608, "*Auricomus Batavus*."—*Torquentem*. Cf. Tac., Germ., 38, "*Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: horrentem capillum retro sequuntur ac sæpe in solo vertice religant: in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis ornantur*." Mart., Spe., iii., "*Crinibus in nodum tortis venere Sigambri*." They moistened their hair with a kind of soft soap. Plin., xxviii., 12. Mart., xiv., 26, "*Caustica Teutonicos accendit spuma capillos*." VIII., xxxiii., 20, "*Fortior et tortos servat vesica capillos, et mutat Latias spuma Batava comas*."

The pigmy<sup>1</sup> warrior in his puny panoply charges the swooping birds of Thrace, and the cloud that resounds with the clang of cranes. Soon, no match for his foe, he is snatched away by the curved talons, and borne off through the sky by the fierce crane. If you were to see this in our country, you would be convulsed with laughter: but there, though battles of this kind are sights of every day, no one even smiles, where the whole regiment is not more than a foot high.

“And is there, then, to be no punishment at all for this perjured wretch and his atrocious villainy?”

Well, suppose him hurried away at once, loaded with double irons, and put to death in any way our wrath dictates (and what could revenge wish for more?), still your loss remains the same, your deposit will not be refunded! “But the least drop of blood from his mangled body will give me a consolation that might well be envied. Revenge is a blessing, sweeter than life itself!” Yes! so fools think, whose breasts you may see burning with anger for trivial causes, sometimes for none at all. How small soever the occasion be, it is matter enough for their wrath. Chrysippus<sup>2</sup> will not hold the same language, nor the gentle spirit of Thales, or

<sup>1</sup> *Pygmæus*. Cf. Stat. Sylv., I., vi., 57, from which it appears that Domitian exhibited a spectacle of pigmy gladiators. “Hic audax subit ordo pumilonum—edunt vulnera conseruntque dextras et mortem sibi (qua manu!) minantur. Ridet Mars pater et cruenta virtus. Casuræque vagis grues rapinis mirantur pumilos ferociore.”

“When clouds of Thracian birds obscure the sky,

To arms! To arms! the desperate Pigmies cry:

But soon defeated in th’ unequal fray,

Disorder’d flee: while pouncing on their prey

The victor cranes descend, and clamoring, bear

The wriggling manikins aloft in air.” Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Chrysippus* the Stoic, disciple of Cleanthes and Zeno, a native of Tarsus or Soli, ἀνὴρ εὐφυνὴς ἐν παντὶ μέρει. Vid. Diog. Laert. in Vit., who says he “was so renowned a logician, that had the gods used logic they would have used that of Chrysippus.” VII., vii., 2.

that old man that lived by sweet Hymettus'<sup>1</sup> hill, who, even amid those cruel bonds, would not have given his accuser one drop of the hemlock<sup>2</sup> he received at his hands!

Philosophy, blessed<sup>3</sup> power! strips us by degrees of full many a vice and every error! She is the first to teach us what is right. Since revenge is ever the pleasure of a paltry spirit, a weak and abject mind! Draw this conclusion *at once* from the fact, that no one delights in revenge more than a woman!

Yet, why should you deem those to have escaped scot-free whom their mind,<sup>4</sup> laden with a sense of guilt, keeps in constant terror, and lashes with a viewless thong! Conscience, as their tormentor, brandishing a scourge unseen by human eyes! Nay! awful indeed is their punishment, and far more terrible even than those which the sanguinary Cæditius<sup>5</sup> invents, or Rhadamanthus! in bearing night and day in one's own breast a witness against one's self.

The Pythian priestess gave answer to a certain Spartan,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hymetto*. As though the hill sympathized with the sweetness of Socrates' mind. Cf. Plato in Phæd. and Apol. Hor., ii., Od. vi., 14, "Ubi non Hymetto mella decedunt," "And still its honey'd fruits Hymettus yields." Byron.

<sup>2</sup> *Cicutæ*. Cf. vii., 206. Pers., iv., 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Felix*. "Divine Philosophy! by whose pure light  
We first distinguish, then pursue the right,  
Thy power the breast from every error frees,  
And weeds out all its vices by degrees;  
Illumined by thy beam, Revenge we find  
The abject pleasure of an abject mind,  
And hence so dear to poor, weak womankind!" Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Conscia mens*. Cf. Sen., Ep. 97, "Prima et maxima peccantium pœna est peccasse; Secundæ vero pœnæ sunt timere semper et expavescere et securitati diffidere et fatendum est mala facinora conscientia flagellari et plurimum illic tormentorum esse," etc. Cf. Æsch., Eumen., 150, ὑπὸ φρένας ὑπὸ λοβὸν πάρεστι μαστίκτορος δαῖον δαμίον βαρὺ κ. τ. λ.

<sup>5</sup> *Cæditius*. An agent of Nero's cruelty, according to some; a sanguinary judge of Vitellius' days, according to Lubinus. Probably a different person from the Cæditius mentioned xvi., 46. *Rhadamanthus*. Cf. Virg., Æn., vi. 566, "Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque auditque dolos, subgitque fateri," etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Spartano*. The story is told Herod., vi., 86. A Milesian intrusted

that in time to come he should not go unpunished, because he hesitated as to retaining a deposit, and supporting his villainy by an oath. For he inquired what was the opinion of the deity, and whether Apollo counseled him to the act.

He did restore it therefore; but through fear,<sup>1</sup> not from principle. And yet he proved that every word that issued from the shrine was worthy of the temple, and but too true: being exterminated together with all his progeny and house, and, though derived from a wide-spreading clan, with all his kin! Such is the penalty which the mere wish to sin incurs. For he that meditates within his breast a crime that finds not even vent in words,<sup>2</sup> has all the guilt of the act!

What then if he has achieved his purpose? A respiteless anxiety is his: that ceases not, even at his hours of meals; while his jaws are parched as though with fever, and the food he loathes swells<sup>3</sup> between his teeth. All wines<sup>4</sup> the miserable wretch spits out; old Alban wine,<sup>5</sup> of high-prized antiquity,

a sum of money to Glaucus a Spartan, who, when the Milesian's sons claimed it, denied all knowledge of it, and went to Delphi to learn whether he could safely retain it; but, terrified at the answer of the oracle, he sent for the Milesians and restored the money. Leotychides relates the story to the Athenians, and leaves them to draw the inference from the fact he subjoins: Γλαῦκον νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονόν ἐστιν οὐδέν, οὔτ' ἰστίη οὐδεμίη νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαῦκον' ἐκτέτριπται τε πρόρριζος ἔκ Σπάρτης.

<sup>1</sup> *Metu.* "Scared at this warning, he who sought to try  
If haply heaven might wink at perjury,  
Alive to fear, though still to virtue dead,  
Gave back the treasure to preserve his head." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Tacitum.* Cf. King John, Act iv.,

"The deed which both our tongues held vile to name!"

Cf. i., 167, "*tacitâ sudant præcordia culpâ.*"

"Thus, but intended mischief, stay'd in time,  
Had all the moral guilt of finished crime." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Crescente.* Ov., Heriod., xvi., 226, "*Crescit et invito lentus in ore cibus.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Sed vina.* Read perhaps "Setina," as v. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Albani.* Cf. v., 33, "Cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus." Hor., iv., Od. xi., 1, "Est mihi nonum superantis annum plenus Albani cadus." Mart., xiii., 109, "Hoc de Cæsareis Mitis Vindemia cellis misit Iuleo quæ sibi monte placet."

disgusts him. Set better before him! and thickly-crowding wrinkles furrow his brow, as though called forth by sour<sup>1</sup> Falernian. At night, if anxious care has granted him perchance a slumber however brief, and his limbs, that have been tossing<sup>2</sup> over the whole bed, at length are at rest, immediately he sees in dreams the temple and the altar of the deity he has insulted; and, what weighs upon his soul with especial terrors,<sup>3</sup> he sees thee! Thy awful<sup>4</sup> form, of more<sup>5</sup> than human bulk, confounds the trembling wretch, and wrings confession<sup>6</sup> from him.

These are the men that tremble and grow pale at every lightning-flash; and, when it thunders,<sup>7</sup> are half dead with terror at the very first rumbling<sup>8</sup> of heaven; as though not by mere chance, or by the raging violence of winds, but in wrath and vengeance the fire-bolt lights<sup>9</sup> upon the earth!<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Velut acri*. Or perhaps, "as though the rich Falernian were *sour* instead of *mellow*."

"The rich Falernian changes into gall." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Versata*. Cf. iii., 279. Hom., Il., xxiv., 10, *seq.* Sen., de Tranq. An., 2, "versant se et hoc atque illo modo componunt donec quietem lassitudine inveniant." Propert., I., xiv., 21, "Et miserum toto juvenem versare cubili."

<sup>3</sup> *Sudoribus*. Cf. i., 167, "*Sudant præcordia culpâ*." Cf. Ov., Her. vii., 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Major*. Virg. Æn., ii., 773, "Notâ major imago." Suet., Claud., i., species mulieris *humanâ* amplior.

<sup>5</sup> *Amplior*. Tac. Ann., xi., 21, "oblata ei species muliebris ultra modum humanum." Suet., Aug., 94.

<sup>6</sup> *Cogitque fateri*. The idea is probably from Lucret., v., 1157, "Quippe ubi se multei per somnia sæpe loquenteis, Aut morbo deliranteis protraxe ferantur Et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse."

<sup>7</sup> *Quum tonat*. Suet., Calig., 51, "Nam qui deos tantopere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura connivere, caput obvolvere: ad vero majora proripere se e strato, sub lectumque condere, solebat."

<sup>8</sup> *Murmure*. Lucret., v., 1218, "Quoi non conrepunt membra pavore Fulminis horribili quom plaga torrida tellus Contremittit et magnum percurrunt murmura cælum? Non populei gentesque tremunt."

<sup>9</sup> *Cadat*. "Quæque cadent in te fulmina missa putes." Ov. Her., vii., 72. Pind., Nem., vi., 90, ξάκτοτον ἔγχοσ. Hor., i., Od., iii., 40, "Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina."

"Where'er the lightning strikes, the flash is thought  
Judicial fire, with heaven's high vengeance fraught." Bad.

<sup>10</sup> *Vindicet*.

"Oh! 'tis not chance, they cry; this hideous crash

That last storm wrought no ill! Therefore the next is feared with heavier presage, as though but deferred by the brief respite of this calm.

Moreover, if they begin to suffer pain in the side, with wakeful fever, they believe the disease is sent to their bodies from the deity, in vengeance. These they hold to be the stones and javelins of the gods!

They dare not vow the bleating sheep to the shrine, or promise even a cock's<sup>1</sup> comb to their Lares. For what hope is vouchsafed to the guilty sick?<sup>2</sup> or what victim is not more worthy of life? The character of bad men is for the most part fickle and variable.<sup>3</sup> While they are engaged in the guilty act they have resolution enough, and to spare. When their foul deeds are perpetrated, then at length they begin to feel what is right and wrong.

Yet Nature<sup>4</sup> ever reverts to her depraved courses, fixed and immutable. For who ever prescribed to himself a limit to his sins? or ever recovered the blush<sup>5</sup> of ingenuous shame once banished from his brow now hardened? What mortal man is there whom you ever saw contented with a single crime? This false friend of ours will get his foot entangled in the noose, and endure the hook of the gloomy dungeon;

Is not the war of winds, nor this dread flash  
The encounter of dark clouds, but blasting fire,  
Charged with the wrath of heaven's insulted sire!" Gifford.

<sup>1</sup> *Galli*. Cf. xii., 89, 96. Plin., x., 21, 56. Plat., Phæd., 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ægris*. "Can pardoning heaven on guilty sickness smile?

Or is there victim than itself more vile?" Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Mobilis*. Sen., Ep. 47, "Hoc habent inter cætera, boni mores, placet sibi ac permanent: levis est malitia, sæpe mutatur, non in melius, sed in aliud."

<sup>4</sup> *Natura*. Hor. i., Ep. x., 24, "Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret."

<sup>5</sup> *Ruborem*. Mart., xi., Ep. xxvii., 7, "Aut cum perfricuit frontem posuitque pudorem."

"Vice once indulged, what rogues could e'er restrain?

Or what bronzed cheek has learn'd to blush again?" Hodgson.



or some crag<sup>1</sup> in the Ægean Sea, or the rocks that swarm with exiles of rank. You will exult in the bitter punishment of the hated name; and at length with joy confess<sup>2</sup> that no one of the gods is either deaf or a Tiresias.<sup>3</sup>

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## SATIRE XIV.

### ARGUMENT.

THE whole of this Satire is directed to the one great end of self-improvement. By showing the dreadful facility with which children copy the vices of their parents, the poet points out the necessity as well as the sacred duty of giving them examples of domestic purity and virtue. After briefly enumerating the several vices, gluttony, cruelty, debauchery, etc., which youth imperceptibly imbibe from their seniors, he enters more at large into that of avarice; of which he shows the fatal and inevitable consequences. Nothing can surpass the exquisiteness of this division of the Satire, in which he traces the progress of that passion in the youthful mind from the paltry tricks of saving a broken meal to the daring violation of every principle, human and divine. Having placed the absurdity as well as the danger of immoderate desires in every point of view, he concludes with a solemn admonition to rest satisfied with those comforts and conveniences which nature and wisdom require, and which a decent competence is easily calculated to supply.

THERE are very many things, Fuscinus,<sup>4</sup> that both deserve a bad name, and fix a lasting spot on a fortune otherwise splendid, which parents themselves point the way to, and

<sup>1</sup> *Rupem*. Cf. i., 73, "aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum." vi., 563.

"Or hurried off to join the wretched train  
Of exiled great ones in the Ægean main." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Fatebere*. Cf. Psalm lviii., 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Tiresiam*. Soph., CEd. T. Ovid, Met., iii., 322, seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Fuscinus*. Nothing is known of him.

"Fuscinus, those ill deeds that sully fame,  
And lay such blots upon an honest name,  
In blood once tainted, like a current run  
From the lewd father to the lewder son." Dryden.

inculcate upon their children. If destructive gambling<sup>1</sup> delights the sire, the heir while yet a child plays<sup>2</sup> too; and shakes the selfsame weapons in his own little dice-box. Nor will that youth allow any of his kin to form better hopes of him who has learned to peel truffles,<sup>3</sup> to season a mushroom,<sup>4</sup> and drown beccaficas<sup>5</sup> swimming in the same sauce, his gourmand sire with his hoary gluttony<sup>6</sup> showing him the way. When his seventh<sup>7</sup> year has passed over the boy's head, and all his second teeth are not yet come, though you range a thousand bearded<sup>8</sup> philosophers on one side of him, and as many on the other, still he will be ever longing to dine in sumptuous style, and not degenerate from his sire's luxurious kitchen.

Does Rutilus<sup>9</sup> inculcate a merciful disposition and a character indulgent to venial faults? does he hold that the souls and bodies of our slaves<sup>10</sup> are formed of matter like our own

<sup>1</sup> *Alea*, i., 89. Cf. Propert., IV., viii., 45, "Me quoque per talos Venerem quærente secundos, Semper *damnosi* subsiluiere Canes." The Romans used four dice in throwing, which were thrown on a table with a rim (*alveolus* or *abacus*). out of a dice-box made of horn, box-wood, or ivory. This *fritillus* was a kind of *cup*, narrower at the top than below. When made in the form of a tower, with graduated intervals, it was called *pyrgus*, *turricula*, or *phimus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ludit*. "Repeats in miniature the darling vice; Shakes the low box, and cogs the little dice." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Tubera*. Cf. v., 116, *seq.* Mart., Ep. xiii., 50.

<sup>4</sup> *Boletum*. Cf. v., 147. Mart., Ep. xiii., 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ficedulas*. Mr. Metcalfe translates "snipes." Cf. Mart., Ep. xiii., 49, "Cum me ficus alat, cum pascor dulcibus uvis, Cur potius nomen non dedit uva mihi?"

<sup>6</sup> *Gula*, i., 140.

<sup>7</sup> *Septimus*. Plin., vii., 16, "Editis infantibus primores dentes septimo gignuntur mense: iidem anno septimo decidunt, alii que suffiuntur."

<sup>8</sup> *Barbatos*. Pers., iv., 1, "Barbatum hoc crede magistrum dicere sorbitio tollit quem dira cicuta." Cic., Fin., iv., "Barba sylvestris et pulchre alita, quamvis res ipsa sit exterior et fortuita, inter hominis eruditi insignio recensetur."

<sup>9</sup> *Rutilus*. Used probably indefinitely, as in Sat. xi., 2, "Si Rutilus, demens." Rutilus was a surname of the Marcian, Virginian, and Nantian clans.

<sup>10</sup> *Servorum*. Gifford quotes an apposite passage from Macrobius, i.,

and of similar elements? or does he not teach cruelty, that Rutilus, who delights in the harsh clang of stripes, and thinks no Siren's<sup>1</sup> song can equal the sound of whips; the Antiphates<sup>2</sup> and Polyphemus of his trembling household? Then is he happy indeed whenever the torturer<sup>3</sup> is summoned, and some poor wretch is branded with the glowing iron for stealing a couple of towels! What doctrine does he preach to his son that revels in the clank of chains, that feels a strange delight in branded slaves,<sup>4</sup> and the country jail? Do you expect that Larga's<sup>5</sup> daughter will not turn out an adulteress, who could not possibly repeat her mother's lovers so quickly, or string them together with such rapidity, as not to take breath thirty times at least? While yet a little maid she was her mother's confidante; now, at that mother's dictation<sup>6</sup> she fills her own little tablets, and gives them to her mother's agents to bear to lovers of her own.

2, "Tibi autem unde in servos tantum et tam immane fastidium? Quasi non ex iisdem tibi constant et alantur elementis, eundemque spiritum ab eodem principe carpant!"

<sup>1</sup> *Sirena*. Cf. ix., 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiphates*, king of the cannibal Læstrygones. Hom., *Odys.*, x., 114, *seq.* Ovid, *Met.*, xiv., 233, *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Tortore*. Vi., 480, "Sunt quæ tortoribus annua præsent."

"Knows no delight, save when the torturer's hand  
Stamps for low theft the agonizing brand." Gifford.

<sup>4</sup> *Ergastula*. Cf. ad viii., 180. Put here, as in vi., 151, for the slaves themselves. As 15 freemen were said to constitute a *state*, and 15 slaves a *familia*, so "*quindecim vincti*" form one *Ergastulum*. It properly means the Bridewell, where they were set to "*travaux forcis*." Liv., ii., 23; vii., 4. The country prisons were generally underground dungeons. Branding on the forehead was a common punishment. Thieves had the word "*Fur*" burnt in; hence called "*literati homines*," "*homines trium literarum*." Plaut., *Aul.*, II., iv., 46. Cicero calls one "*compunctum notis, stigmatiam*," Off., ii., 7. So "*Inscripti vultus*," Plin., xviii., 3. "*Inscripti*," Martial, *Ep.* viii., 79. Cf. Plin., *Paneg.*, 35. Sat. x., 183. Plaut., *Cas.*, II., vi., 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Largæ*. Cf. vi., 239, "*Scilicet expectas ut tradat mater honestos atque alios mores quam quos habet?*" x., 220, "*Promptius expediam quot amaverit Hippiæ mæchos*."

<sup>6</sup> *Dictante*. vi., 223, "*Ilia docet missis a corruptore tabellis, nil rude, nil simplex rescribere*."

Such is Nature's law.<sup>1</sup> The examples of vice that we witness at home<sup>2</sup> more surely and quickly corrupt us, when they insinuate themselves into our minds, under the sanction of those we revere. Perhaps just one or two young men may spurn these practices, whose hearts the Titan has formed with kindlier art, and moulded out of better clay.<sup>3</sup>

But their sire's footsteps, that they ought to shun, lead on all the rest, and the routine<sup>4</sup> of inveterate depravity, that has been long before their eyes, attracts them on.

Therefore refrain<sup>5</sup> from all that merits reprobation. *One* powerful motive, at least, there is to this—lest our children copy our crimes. For we are all of us too quick at learning to imitate base and depraved examples; and you may find a Catiline in every people and under every sky; but nowhere a Brutus,<sup>6</sup> or Brutus' uncle!

Let nothing shocking to eyes or ears approach those doors that close upon your child. Away! far, far away,<sup>7</sup> the pander's wenches, and the songs of the parasite<sup>8</sup> that riots the

<sup>1</sup> *Exempla.* From Cic., Ep., iv., 3, "Quod exemplo fit, id etiam jure fieri putant."

<sup>2</sup> *Exempla domestica.*

"Thus Nature bids our home's examples win  
The passive mind to imitative sin,  
And vice, unquestion'd, makes its easy way,  
Sanction'd by those our earliest thoughts obey." Badham.

<sup>3</sup> *Luto.* Callim., fr. 133, εἰ σε Προμηθεὺς ἔπλασε καὶ πολλοὺ μὴ ζ' ἑτέρου γέγονας. Ovid, Met., i., 80, "Sive recens tellus seductaque nuper ab alto æthere cognati retinebat semina cœli; Quam satus Iapeto mixtam fluvialibus undis finxit in effigiem moderantùm cuncta Deorum." Cf. Sat. vi., 13, "Compositive luto nullos habuere parentes."

<sup>4</sup> *Orbita*, from orbis; "the track of a wheel." So by the same metaphor the "routine," or course of life.

<sup>5</sup> *Abstineas.* "O cease from sin! should other reasons fail  
Lest our own frailties make our children frail."

Badham.

<sup>6</sup> *Brutus* was the son of Servilia, the sister of Cato of Utica (cf. x., 319). So Sen., Ep. 97, "Omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones fert."

<sup>7</sup> *Procul hinc.* The formula at religious solemnities. Cf. ii., 89. Ov., Met., vii., 255, "Hinc procul Æsonidem, procul hinc jubet ire ministros, et monet arcanis oculos remove profanos."

<sup>8</sup> *Parasiti.* Cf. i., 139.

livelong night ! The greatest reverence<sup>1</sup> is due to a child ! If you are contemplating a disgraceful act, despise not your child's tender years, but let your infant son act as a check upon your purpose of sinning. For if, at some future time, he shall have done any thing to deserve the censor's<sup>2</sup> wrath, and show himself like you, not in person only and in face, but also the true son of your morals, and one who, by following your footsteps, adds deeper guilt to your crimes—then, forsooth ! you will reprove and chastise him with clamorous bitterness, and then set about altering your will. Yet how dare you assume the front severe,<sup>3</sup> and license of a parent's speech ; you, who yourself, though old, do worse than this ; and the exhausted cupping-glass<sup>4</sup> is long ago looking out for your brainless head ?

If a friend is coming to pay you a visit, your whole household is in a bustle. “Sweep the floor, display the pillars in all their brilliancy, let the dry spider come down with all her web ; let one clean<sup>5</sup> the silver, another polish the embossed<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Reverentia*. “His child's unsullied purity demands.

The deepest reverence at a parent's hands.” Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Censoris*. Henninius' reading and punctuation is followed here.

“Oh yet reflect ! For should he e'er provoke,  
In riper age, the Law's avenging stroke  
(Since not alone in person and in face,  
But morals, he will prove your son, and trace,  
Nay pass your vicious footsteps), you will rail,  
And name another heir, should threatening fail !” Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Cerebro*. Plin., ix., 37, “Cerebrum est velut arx sensuum : hinc mentis est regimen.”

<sup>4</sup> *Cucurbita*. Properly a kind of gourd, *κολοκύβηθ* ; thence from its shape, and perhaps too from its use, applied to a cupping-glass. These were made of horn, brass, and afterward of glass. The Greeks, from the same cause, called it *σικύα*, or *κύαθος* (cf. Schol. ad Arist., Lys.. 444). It is called *ventosa* from the rarefaction of the air in the operation, and was applied to relieve the head. Hence *cucurbitæ caput* is used for a fool. Cf. Appul., Met.. 1, “Nos cucurbitæ caput non habemus, ut pro te moriamur !”

<sup>5</sup> *Lavet*. Browne says, “Who washes silver plate ?” and prefers the reading “leve.” But might not his *patellæ* be of silver ?” iii., 261, “Domus interea secura *patellas* jam lavat.”

<sup>6</sup> *Aspera*. Cf. i., 76, “Argentum vetus et stantem extrà pocula ca-

plate—" the master's voice thunders out, as he stands over the work, and brandishes his whip.

You are alarmed then, wretched man, lest your entrance-hall, befouled by dogs, should offend the eye of your friend who is coming, or your corridor be spattered with mud ; and yet one little slave could clean all this with half a bushel of saw-dust. And yet, will you not bestir yourself that your own son may see your house immaculate and free from foul spot or crime ? It deserves our gratitude that you have presented a citizen to your country and people,<sup>1</sup> if you take care that he prove useful to the state—of service to her lands ; useful in transacting the affairs both of war and peace. For it will be a matter of the highest moment in what pursuits and moral discipline you train him.

The stork feeds her young on snakes<sup>2</sup> and lizards which she has discovered in the trackless fields. They too, when fledged, go in quest of the same animals. The vulture,

prum." v., 38, "Inæquales beryllo phialas." Virg., *Æn.*, ix., 266, "Argento perfecta atque *aspera* signis pocula." Ovid., *Met.*, v., 81, "Altis exstantem signis cratera." xii., 235, "Signis exstantibus *asper* Antiquus crater." xiii., 700, "Hactenus antiquo signis fulgentibus ære, Summus inaurato crater erat asper acantho."

"Sweep the dry cobwebs down!" the master cries,

Whips in his hand, and fury in his eyes :

'Let not a spot the clouded columns stain,

Scour you the figured silver ; you the plain!" Gifford.

<sup>1</sup> *Patriæ populoque*, an ancient formula. Cf Liv., v., 41. So Horace joins them, "Hoc fonte derivata clades in patriam populumque fluxit," iii., Od. vi., 20 (vid. Orell. in loc.). Ovid, *Met.*, xv., 572, "Seu lætum est, patriæ lætum, populoque Quirini."

"Thy grateful land shall say 'tis nobly done,

If thou bring'st up to public use thy son ;

Fit for the various tasks allotted men,

A warlike chief, a prudent citizen." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Serpente*. Pliny (H. N., x., 23) alludes to the same circumstance with regard to storks. "Illis in Thessaliâ tantus honos serpentum exitio habitus est, ut ciconiam occidere capitale sit, eadem legibus pœna quâ in homicidas."

"Her progeny the stork with serpents feeds,

And finds them lizards in the devious meads :

The little storklings, when their wings are grown,

Look out for snakes and lizards of their own." Badham.



quitting the cattle, and dogs, and gibbets, hastens to her callow brood, and bears to them a portion of the carcass. Therefore this is the food of the vulture too when grown up, and able to feed itself and build a nest in a tree of its own.

Whereas the ministers of Jove,<sup>1</sup> and birds of noble blood, hunt in the forest for the hare<sup>2</sup> or kid. Hence is derived the quarry for their nest: hence too, when their progeny, now matured, have poised themselves on their own wings, when hunger pinches they swoop to that booty, which first they tasted when they broke the shell.

Centronius has a passion for building; and now on the embayed shore of the Caieta,<sup>3</sup> now on the highest peak of Tibur,<sup>4</sup> or on Præneste's hills<sup>5</sup> he reared the tall roofs of his villas, of Grecian<sup>6</sup> and far-fetched marbles; surpassing the

<sup>1</sup> *Famulæ Jovis*. Æsch., *Prom.* V., 1057, Διὸς πτηνὸς κύων, δαφροῖνδός ἀετός. Hor., iv., *Od.* iv., 1, "Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem," etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Leporem*. Virg., *Æn.*, ix., 563, seq., "Qualis ubi aut leporem aut candenti corpore cyenum Sustulit alta petens pedibus Jovis armiger uncis."

• "While Jove's own eagle, bird of noble blood,  
Scours the wide champaign for untainted food,  
Bears the swift hare, or swifter fawn away,  
And feeds her nestlings with the generous prey." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Caietæ*, now "Mola di Gæta," called from Æneas's nurse. Virg., *Æn.*, vii., 1, "Tu quoque littoribus nostris, Æneia nutrix Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti. Et nunc servat honos sedem tuus."

<sup>4</sup> *Tibur*, now "Tivoli," on the Anio, built on a steep acclivity. Hence "supinum," Hor. iii., *Od.* iv., 23. Cf. iii., 192, "aut proni Tiburis arce."

<sup>5</sup> *Præneste*, now "Palestrina," said to have been founded by Cæculus, son of of Vulcan. Vid. Virg., *Æn.*, vii., 678.

<sup>6</sup> *Græcis*. Cf. Stat., *Sylv.*, III., i., 5, "Sed nitidos postes Graiisque effulta metallis culmina." The green marble of Tænarus was very highly prized. Vid. Plin., *H. N.* xxxvi., 7. Prop., III. ii., 9, "Quod non Tænariis domus est mihi fulta columnis." Tibull., III., iii., 13, "Quidve domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis, Tænare sive tuis, sive Caryste tuis." Among other foreign marbles, Pliny mentions the Egyptian, Naxian, Armenian, Parian, Chian, Sicyonian, Synnadic, Numidian. Augustus introduced the use of marble in public buildings, and many edifices of his time were constructed of solid marble. All the columns of the temple of Mars Ultor are of marble. (Vid. Niebuhr's *Lectures*, vol. iii., p. 299. Sat. xi., 182, "Longis Numidarum fulta columnis." Hor., ii., *Od.* xviii., 4, "Columnas ultimâ recisas Africâ." Lucian, *Hipp.*, p. 507, ed. Bened.) But the more

temple of Fortune<sup>1</sup> and of Hercules as much as Posides<sup>2</sup> the eunuch outvied our Capitol. While, therefore, he is thus magnificently lodged, Centronius lessened his estate and impaired his wealth. And yet the sum of the portion that he left was no mean one: but all this his senseless son ran through by raising new mansions of marble more costly than his sire's.

Some whose lot it is to have a father that reveres sabbaths, worship nothing save clouds and the divinity of heaven; and think that flesh of swine, from which their sire abstained, differs in naught from that of man. Soon, too, they submit to circumcision. But, trained to look with scorn upon the laws of Rome, they study and observe and reverence all those Jewish statutes that Moses in his mystic volume handed down: never to show the road except to one that worships the same sacred rites—to conduct to the spring they are in quest of, the circumcised<sup>3</sup> alone. But

general use of it did not begin till the reign of Nero, when Greek architecture became prevalent.

<sup>1</sup> *Fortunæ*. The temple of Fortune at Præneste was erected by Augustus. Hence she was called Dea Prænestina, and the oracles delivered there "*Sortes Prænestinæ*." Suet., Tib., 63. Propert., II., xxxii., 3. Cf. Ov., Fast., vi., 62. (From Stat. Sylv., I., iii., 80, "*Quod ni templa darent alias Tirynthia sortes, et Prænestinæ poterant migrare Sorores*," it appears that at Præneste, as at Antium, there were two Fortunes worshiped as sister-goddesses. Cf. Suet., Calig., 57. Mart., v., Ep. i., 3. Orell. ad Hor., i., Od. xxxv., 1.) The temple of Hercules at Tibur was built by Marcius Phillippus, step-father of Augustus. Cf. Suet., Aug., 29. Prop., II., xxxii., 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Posides*. Vid. Suet., Claud., 28, "*Libertorum præcipuè suspexit Posiden spadonem quem etiam, Britannico triumpho, inter militares viros hastâ purâ donavit*." Like Clandius' other freedmen, he amassed immense wealth.

<sup>3</sup> *Verpos*. Some of the commentators waste a great amount of zeal, and no little knowledge, to show us that these lines prove Juvenal to have been in utter ignorance of the Mosaic law. I presume Juvenal means to tell us *what the Jews did*, not what the Jewish law *taught*; which had they followed, they would not have been in Rome for Juvenal to write about. These lines, in fact, instead of contradicting Josephus, *confirm* his account of the state of his countrymen, and are another valuable testimony to prove that they "*had made the word of God of none effect through their traditions*." What should

their father is to blame for this; to whom each seventh<sup>1</sup> day was a day of sloth, and kept aloof from all share of life's daily duties.

All other vices, however, young men copy of their own free choice. Avarice is the only one that even against their will they are constrained to put in practice. For this vice deceives men under the guise and semblance<sup>2</sup> of virtue. Since it is grave in bearing—austere in look and dress. And without doubt, the miser is praised “a frugal<sup>3</sup> character,” “a sparing man,” and one that knows how to guard his own,<sup>4</sup> more securely than if the serpent of the Hesperides<sup>5</sup> or of Pontus had the keeping of them. Besides, the multitude considers the man of whom we are speaking, a splendid carver<sup>6</sup> of his own fortune. Since it is by such artificers as these that estates are increased. But still, increase they do by all means, fair or foul, and swell in bulk from the ceaseless anvil and ever-glowing forge.

The father, therefore, considers misers as men of happy minds,<sup>7</sup> since he admires wealth, and thinks no instance can be found of a *poor* man that is also *happy*; and therefore ex-

we say of Messrs. Johnson, Malone, and Steevens, were they to gravely demonstrate that Shakspeare wrote in *ignorance of the tenets of Judaism* when he introduces Shylock coveting Signor Antonio's “pound of flesh?”

<sup>1</sup> *Septima*. Cf. Tac., *His.*, v., 4, “Septimo die otium placuisse ferunt; quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum.”

<sup>2</sup> *Specie*. Hor., *A. P.*, 25, “Decipimur specie recti.” Pers., v., 105, “Et veri speciem dignoscere calles.”

“For this grave vice, assuming Virtue's guise,  
Seems Virtue's self to superficial eyes.” Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Frugi*. Hor., i., Sat., iii., 49, “Parcius hic vivit, frugi dicatur.”

<sup>4</sup> *Tutela*. Hor., *A. P.*, 169, “Vel quod Quærit, et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,” and l. 325–333.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperidum*. Vid. Ov., *Met.*, iv., 627, *seq.* Virg., *Æn.*, iv., 480, *seq.* Athen., iii., p. 82, ed. Dindorf.

<sup>6</sup> *Artificem*. “And reasoning from the fortune he has made,  
Hail him a perfect master of his trade.” Gifford.

<sup>7</sup> *Animi*. Hor., i., Ep. xv., 45, “Vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere quorum Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.”

horts his sons to follow the same track, and apply themselves earnestly to the doctrines of the same sect. There are certain first elements<sup>1</sup> of all vices. These he instills into them in regular order, and constrains them to become adepts in the most paltry lucre. Presently he inculcates an insatiable thirst for gain. While he is famishing himself, he pinches his servants'<sup>2</sup> stomachs with the scantiest allowance.<sup>3</sup> For he never endures to consume the whole of the blue fragments of mouldy<sup>4</sup> bread, but saves, even in the middle of September,<sup>5</sup> the mince<sup>6</sup> of yesterday ;<sup>7</sup> and puts by till to-morrow's dinner the summer bean,<sup>3</sup> with a piece of stockfish and half a stinking shad :<sup>9</sup> and, after he has counted them, locks up the shreds of chopped leek.<sup>10</sup> A beggar from the bridge<sup>11</sup> would

<sup>1</sup> *Elementa*. "Vice boasts its elements, like other arts :  
These he inculcates first ; anon imparts  
The petty tricks of saving : last inspires  
Of endless wealth th' insatiable desires." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Servorum*. Juvenal had evidently Theophrastus' αἰσχροκερδῆς in his eye: τὰ δὲ καταλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἡμίση τῶν ῥαφανίδων ἀπογράφεται. ἵνα οἱ διακονοῦντες παῖδες μὴ λάβωσι.

<sup>3</sup> *Modio iniquo*. Cf. Theophr., Char., 30 (π. αἰσχροκερδ.) φειδωνίῳ μέτρῳ τὸν πύνδακα ἐγκεκροσμένῳ μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφόδρα ἀποψῶν.

<sup>4</sup> *Mucida*. v., 68, "Solidæ jam mucida frusta farinæ."

<sup>5</sup> *Septembri*. The hottest and most unhealthy month in Rome. Cf. vi., 517. Hor., i., Ep. xvi., 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Minutal*. The μυτιωτὸς and περίκομμα of Aristophanes. Martial describes one, lib. xi., Ep. xxxi. Cf. Apic., iv., 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesternum*. So θοῖνην ἔωλον. Athen., vii., 2. Mart., i., Ep. civ., 7, "Deque decem plures semper servantur olivæ, explicat et cœnas unica mensa duas."

<sup>8</sup> *Conchem*. iii., 293, "Cujus conche tumes."

<sup>9</sup> *Lacerti*. Mart., x., Ep. 48, "Secta coronabunt rutatos ova laceratos." xii., Ep. 19. Celsus, ii., 18, mentions the Lacertus among the fish "ex quibus salsamenta fiunt, et quorum cibus gravissimus est." The *Silurus* was a common and coarse Egyptian fish, sent over salted to Rome. Cf. iv., 33.

<sup>10</sup> *Porri*. iii., 294, "Quis tecum sectile porrum." Cf. Plin., H. N., xix., 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ponte*. Cf. iv., 116, "Cæcus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles." v., 8, "Nulla crepido vacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars dimidia brevior?" Mart., x., Ep. v., 3, "Erret per urbem pontis exsul et clivi, interque raucos ultimus rogatores oret caninas panis improbi buccas." Ovid, Ibis, 420, "Quique tenent pontem."

decline an invitation to such a meal as this ! But to what end is money scraped together at the expense of such self-torture ? Since it is undoubted madness,<sup>1</sup> palpable insanity, to *live* a beggar's life, simply that you may *die* rich.

Meanwhile, though the sack swells, full to the very brim, the love of money grows<sup>2</sup> as fast as the money itself grows. And he that has the less, the less he covets. Therefore you are looking out for a second villa, since one estate is not enough for you, and it is your fancy to extend<sup>3</sup> your territories ; and your neighbor's corn-land seems to you more spacious and fertile than your own ; therefore you treat for the purchase of this too, with all its woods and its hill that whitens with its dense olive-grove. But if their owner will not be prevailed upon to part with them at any price, then at night, your lean oxen and cattle with weary necks, half-starved, will be turned into his corn-fields while still green, and not quit it for their own homes before the whole crop<sup>4</sup> has found its way into their ruthless<sup>5</sup> stomachs—so closely

<sup>1</sup> *Phrenesis*. Hor., ii., Sat. iii., 82, "Danda est Hellebori multo pars maxima avaris: Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem." So Cicero, de Senec., 65, "Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intelligi: potest enim esse quidquam absurdus, quam quo minus viæ restat eò plus viatici quærere?"

<sup>2</sup> *Crescit*. So Ovid, Fast., i., 211, "Creverunt et opes, et opum furiosa cupido et cum possideant plurima plura volunt. Quærere ut absumant, absumta requirere certant: atque ipsæ vitiis sunt alimenta vices."

<sup>3</sup> *Proferre*. Liv., i., 33. Virg., Æn., vi., 796. Hor., ii., Od. xviii., 17. ii., Sat. vi., 8, "O si angulus ille proximus accedat qui nunc deformat agellum."

<sup>4</sup> *Novalia*. Put here for the crops on any good land. Plin., H. N., xviii., 19, "Novale est quod alternis annis seritur." Cf. Virg., Georg., i., 71, "Alternis idem tonsas cessare novales et segnem patiere situ durescere campum," with Martyn's note. Varro, de L. L., iv., 4, "Ager restibilis, qui restituitur ac reseritur quotquot annis; Contrà qui intermittitur, à novando novalis est ager." It means properly land recently cleared. "Ager novus cui nunc primum immissum est aratrum (*virgin soil*), cum antea aut sylva esset, aut terra nunquam proscissa et culta in segetem." Facc. Then it is used for any cultivated land. Virg., Ecl., i., 71. Stat., Theb., iii., 644, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Sævos*. So Hor., ii., Sat. vii., 5, "Quæ prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca."

cropped that you would fancy it had been mown. You could hardly tell how many have to complain of similar treatment, and how many estates wrongs like this have brought to the hammer. "But what says the world? What the trumpet of slanderous fame?—"

"What harm does this do me?"<sup>1</sup> he says; "I had rather have a lupin's pod, than that the whole village neighborhood<sup>2</sup> should praise me, if I am at the same time to reap the scanty crops of a diminutive estate."

You will then, forsooth, be free from all disease<sup>3</sup> and all infirmity, and escape sorrow and care; and a lengthened span of life will hereafter be your lot with happier destiny, if you individually own as much arable land as the whole Roman people used to plow under king Tatius. And after that, to men broken down with years, that had seen the hard service of the Punic wars, and faced the fierce Pyrrhus and the Molossian swords, scarce two acres<sup>4</sup> a man were be-

"Turn in by night thy cattle, starved and lean,  
Amid his growing crops of waving green;  
Nor lead them forth till all the field be bare,  
As if a thousand sickles had been there." Badham.

<sup>1</sup> *Quid nocet hoc?* Cf. i., 48, "*Quid enim salvis infamia nummis!*" Hor., i., Sat. i., 63, "*Ut quidam memoratur Athenis, Sordidus ac dives populi contemnere voces sic solitus: Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Vicinia.* Hor., ii., Sat. v., 106, "*Egregiè factum laudet vicinia.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Morbis.* Cf. Hor., i., Sat. i., 80, "*At si condoluit tentatum frigore corpus, aut alius casus lecto te affixit; habes qui assideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te suscitet ac reddat natis carisque propinquis.*"

"What! canst thou thus bid mortal sickness cease?  
Thus from life's lightest cares compel release?  
Though twenty plowshares turn thy vast domain,  
Shalt thou live longer unchastised by pain?" Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Jugera bina.* Liv., vi., 16, "*Satricum coloniam deduci jussit; bina jugera et semisses agri assignati.*" c., 36, "*Anderentne postulare, ut quum bina jugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta jugera habere liceret?*" The colonists sent to occupy the conquered country received, as their allotment of the land taken from the enemy, two acres apiece. The jugerum was nearly five eighths of an English acre, i.e., 2 roods, 19 perches, and a fraction. The semissis is the same as the actus quadratus. Cf. Varro, R.R., i., 10. Plin., H. N., xviii., 2.



stowed at length as compensation for countless wounds. Yet that reward for all their blood and toil never appeared to any less than their deserts—or did their country's faith appear scant or thankless. Such a little glebe as this used to satisfy the father himself and all his cottage troop: where lay his pregnant wife, and four children played—one a little slave,<sup>1</sup> the other three freeborn. But for their grown-up brothers<sup>2</sup> when they returned from the trench or furrow, there was another and more copious supper prepared, and the big pots smoked with vegetables. Such a plot of ground in our days is not enough for a garden.

It is from this source commonly arise the motives to crime. Nor has any vice of the mind of man mingled more poisons or oftener dealt<sup>3</sup> the assassin's knife, than the fierce lust for wealth unlimited. For he that covets to grow rich,<sup>4</sup> would also grow rich speedily. But what respect for laws, what fear or shame is ever found in the breast of the miser hasting to be rich? "Live contented with these cottages, my lads, and these hills of ours!" So said, in days of yore, the Marsian and Hernican and Vestine sire—"Let us earn our bread, sufficient for our tables, with the plow. Of this the

<sup>1</sup> *Vernula*. Cf. x., 117, "Quem sequitur custos angustæ vernula cap-sæ." The verna (οἰκοτραφής) was so called, "qui in villis vere natus, quod tempus duce natura feturæ est." Fest. Others say that it became a term of reproach from having been first given to those who were born in the Ver Sacrum. Cf. Fest., s. v. Mamertini. Strabo, v., p. 404. Liv., xxxiv., 44. Just., xxiv., 4. These home-born slaves, though more despised from having been born in a state of servitude, were treated with great fondness and indulgence. Sen., Prov., i., f., "Cogita filiorum nos modestia delectari, vernularum licentia: illos tristiori disciplinâ contineri; horum ali audaciam."

<sup>2</sup> *Domini*. Cf. Plaut., Capt. Pr., 18, "Licet non hæredes sint, domini sunt."

<sup>3</sup> *Grassatur*. iii., 305, "Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem."

<sup>4</sup> *Cito vult fieri*. Cf. Menand., οὐδείς ἐπλόυτησε ταχέως δίκαιος ὢν. Prov., xxviii., 20, "He that maketh haste to be rich, shall not be innocent."

"What law restrains, what scruples shall prevent  
The desperate man on swift possessions bent?" Badham.

rustic deities<sup>1</sup> approve ; by whose aid and intervention, since the boon of the kindly corn-blade, it is man's fortune to loathe the oaks he fed upon before. Naught that is forbidden will he desire to do who is not ashamed of wearing the high country boots<sup>2</sup> in frosty weather, and keeps off the east winds by inverted skins. The foreign purple, unknown to us before, leads on to crime and impiety of every kind."

Such were the precepts that these fine old fellows gave to their children ! But now, after the close of autumn, even at midnight<sup>3</sup> the father with loud voice rouses his drowsy son : "Come, boy, get your tablets and write ! Come, wake up ! Draw indictments ! get up the rubricated statutes<sup>4</sup> of our fathers—or else draw up a petition for a centurion's post. But be sure Lælius observe your hair untouched by a comb, and your nostrils well covered with hair,<sup>5</sup> and your good

<sup>1</sup> *Numina ruris*. Cf. Virg., *Georg.*, i., 7, "Liber et alma Ceres vestro si munere tellus Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit aristâ." So *Fast.*, i., 671, "Placentur matres frugum Tellusque Ceresque Farre suo gravidæ, visceribusque suis. Consortes operum, per quas correctæ vetustas, Quernaque glans victa est utiliore cibo." *iv.*, 399, "Postmodo glans nata est bene erat jam glande reperta, duraque magnificas quercus habebat opes. Prima Ceres homini ad meliora alimenta vocato mutavit glandes utiliore cibo." So *Sat.*, vi., 10, "Et sæpe horridior glandem ructante marito." *Sulp.*, 16, "Non aliter primo quàm cum surreximus ævo, Glandibus et puræ rursus procumbere lymphæ"

<sup>2</sup> *Peronæ*. Virg., *Æn.*, vii., 609, "Crudus tegit altera pero." The pero was a rustic boot, reaching to the middle of the leg, made of untanned leather. Cf. *Pers.*, v., 102, "Navem si poscat sibi peronatus arator Luciferi rudis."

"No guilty wish the simple plowman knows,  
High-booted tramping through his country snows ;  
Clad in his shaggy cloak against the wind,  
Rough his attire and undebauch'd his mind :  
The foreign purple, better still unknown,  
Makes all the sins of all the world our own." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Mediæ de nocte*. Cf. *Arist.*, *Nub.*, 8, *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rubras*. Cf. *Pers.* v., 90, "Excepto si quid Masuri rubrica vetavit." *Ov.*, *Trist.*, i., i., 7, "Nec titulus minio nec cedro charta notetur." *Mart.*, iii., *Ep.* ii., "Et te purpura delicata velet, et cocco rubeat superbus index." In ordinary books, the titles and headings of the chapters were written in red letters. But in law-books the text was in red letter, and the commentaries and glosses in black.

<sup>5</sup> *Pilosas*. *ii.*, 11, "Hispidâ membra quidem et duræ per brachia

brawny shoulders. Sack the Numidian's hovels,<sup>1</sup> and the forts of the Brigantes,<sup>2</sup> that your sixtieth year may bestow on you the eagle that will make you rich. Or, if you shrink from enduring the long-protracted labors of the camp, and the sound of bugles and trumpets makes your heart faint, then buy something that you may dispose of for more than half as much again as it cost you; and never let disgust at any trade that must be banished beyond the other bank of Tiber, enter your head, nor think that any difference can be drawn between perfumes or leather. The smell of gain is good<sup>3</sup> from any thing whatever! Let this sentiment of the poet<sup>4</sup> be forever on your tongue—worthy of the gods, and

setæ promittunt atrocem animum.” Combs were usually made of boxwood. Ov., Fast., vi., 229, “Non mihi detonsos crines depectere buxo.” Mart., xiv., Ep. xxv., 2, “Quid faciet nullos hic inventura capillos, multifido buxus quæ tibi dente datur.”

<sup>1</sup> *Attegiæ*, a word of Arabic origin. The Magalia of Virgil, *Æn.*, i., 425; iv., 259, and Mapalia of Silius Italicus, ii., 437, *seq.*, xvii., 88. Virg., Georg., iii., 340. Low round hovels, sometimes on wheels like the huts of the Scythian nomadæ, called from their shape “Cohortes rotundæ,” “hen-coops.” Cat. ap. Fest. They are described by Salust (Bell. Jug., 20) as “Ædificia Numidarum agrestium, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ;” and by Hieron. as “furnorum similes.” Probably when *fixed* they were called Magalia; whence the name of the ancient part of Carthage, from the Punic ‘Mager.’ When *locomotive*, Mapalia. Livy says that when Masinissa fled before Syphax to Mount Balbus, “familie aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis persecuti sunt regem.”

<sup>2</sup> The *Brigantes* were the most ancient and most powerful of the British nations, extending from sea to sea over the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, Westmoreland and Cumberland. Tac., Agric., 17. The famous Cartismandua was their queen, with whom Caracac-tus took refuge. Tac., Ann., xii., 32, 6. Hist., iii., 45. Hadrian was in Britain, A.D. 121, when his Foss was constructed.

<sup>3</sup> *Lucri bonus est odor*. Alluding to Vespasian's answer to Titus. Vid. Suet., Vesp., 23, “Reprehendenti filio Tito, quod etiam urinæ vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex primâ pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans, num odore offenderetur; et illo negante, atqui, inquit ex lotio est.” Martial alludes to the fact of offensive trades being banished to the other side of the Tiber. VI., xciii., 4, “Non detracta cani Transtiberna cutis.” I., Ep. xlii., 3; cix., 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Poetæ*. Ennius is said to have taken this sentiment from the Bellerophon of Euripides. Horace has also imitated it; i., Ep. i., 65, “Rem facias; rem si possis rectè, si non quôcumque modo rem.” Cf. Seneca, Epist., 115, “Non quare et unde; quid habeas tantum

even great Jove himself!—‘No one asks how you *get* it, but *have* it you must.’ This maxim old crones impress on boys before they can run alone. This all girls learn before their A B C.”

Any parent whatever inculcating such lessons as these I would thus address: Tell me, most empty-headed of men! who bids you be in such a hurry? I engage your pupil shall better your instruction. Don’t be alarmed! You will be outdone; just as Ajax outstripped Telamon, and Achilles excelled Peleus.<sup>1</sup> Spare their tender years!<sup>2</sup> The bane of vice matured has not yet filled the marrow of their bones! As soon as he begins to trim a beard, and apply the long razor’s edge, he will be a false witness—will sell his perjuries at a trifling sum, laying his hand<sup>3</sup> on Ceres’ altar and foot. Look upon your daughter-in-law as already buried, if she has entered your family with a dowry that must entail death on her.<sup>4</sup> With what a gripe will she be strangled in her rogan.” (No sentiment of the kind is to be found in the fragments of either.)

“No! though compelled beyond the Tiber’s flood,  
To move your tan-yard, swear the smell is good,  
Myrrh, cassia, frankincense; and wisely think  
That what is lucrative can never stink.” Hodgson.

<sup>1</sup> *Peleus*. Thetis was given in marriage to Peleus, because it had been foretold that she should give birth to a son who should be greater than his father; and therefore Jupiter was obliged to forego his passion for her. Vid. *Æsch.*, *Prom. Vinct.*, 886, *seq.* *Pind.*, *Isthm.*, viii., 67. *Nonnus, Dionys.*, xxxiii., 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Parcendum teneris*. Parodied from *Virg.*, *Georg.*, ii., 363, “Ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus ætas, parcendum teneris.”

<sup>3</sup> *Tangens*. In swearing, the Romans laid their hands on the altars consecrated to the gods to whose deity they appealed. Vid. *Virg.*, *Æn.*, pass. *Hor.*, ii., *Ep.* i., 16. Cf. *Sat.* xiii., 89, “Atque ideo intrepide quæcunque altaria tangunt.” *Sil.* iii., 82, “Tangat Elissæas palmas puerilibus aras.” *Liv.*, xxi., 1, “Annibalem annorum ferme novem, altaribus admotum tactis sacris jurejurando adactum, se quum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano.”

<sup>4</sup> *Mortifera*. Cf. *Pers.*, ii., 13, “Acri bile tumet. Nerio jam tertia conditur uxor.”

“If Fate should help him to a dowried wife,  
Her doom is fix’d, and brief her span of life:  
Sound in her sleep, while murderous fingers grasp  
Her slender throat, hark to the victim’s gasp!” *Badham*.

sleep! For all that you suppose must be gotten by sea and land, a shorter road<sup>1</sup> will bestow on him! Atrocious crime involves no labor! "I never recommended this," you will hereafter say, "nor counseled such an act." Yet the cause and source of this depravity of heart rests at your doors; for he that inculcated a love for great wealth, and by his sinister lessons trained up his sons to avarice,<sup>2</sup> *does* give full license, and gives the free rein<sup>3</sup> to the chariot's course; then if you try to check it, it can not be restrained, but, laughing you to scorn, is hurried on, and leaves even the goal far behind. No one holds it enough to sin just so much as you allow him, but men grant themselves a more enlarged indulgence.

When you say to your son, "The man is a fool that gives any thing to his friend,<sup>4</sup> or relieves the burden<sup>5</sup> of his neighbor's poverty," you are, in fact, teaching him to rob and cheat, and get riches by any crime, of which as great a love exists in you as was that of their country in the breast of

<sup>1</sup> *Brevior via.* So Tacitus (Ann., iii., 66), speaking of Brutidius (cf. Sat. x., 83), says, "Festinatio exstimulabat, dum æquales, dein superiores, postremò suasset ipse spes anteire parat: quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit qui, *spretis quæ tarda cum securitate, præmatura vel cum exitio properarent.*"

<sup>2</sup> The line "Et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare" is now generally allowed to be an interpolation.

<sup>3</sup> *Effundit habenas.* So Virg., Georg., i., 512, "Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigæ addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas." Æn., v., 818; xii., 499. Ov., Am., III., iv., 15. Cf. Shakspeare, King Henry V., Act iii., sc. 3, "What rein can hold licentious wickedness, when down the hill he holds his fierce career?"

"With base advice to poison youthful hearts,  
And teach them sordid, money-getting arts,  
Is to release the horses from the rein,  
And let them whirl the chariot o'er the plain:  
Forward they gallop from the lessening goal,  
Deaf to the voice of impotent control." Hodgson.

<sup>4</sup> *Donet amico.* Hor., i., Sat. ii., 4, "Contra hic, ne prodigus esse Dictatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico."

<sup>5</sup> *Levet.* Cf. Isa., lviii., 6, "To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke." Gal., vi.,

the Decii :<sup>1</sup> as much, if Greece speaks truth, as Menæceus<sup>2</sup> loved Thebes ! in whose furrows<sup>3</sup> legions with their bucklers spring from the serpent's teeth, and at once engage in horrid war, as though a trumpeter had arisen along with them. Therefore you will see that fire<sup>4</sup> of which you yourself supplied the sparks, raging far and wide, and spreading universal destruction. Nor will you yourself escape, poor wretch ! but with loud roar the lion-pupil<sup>5</sup> in his den will mangle his trembling master.

Your horoscope is well known to the astrologers.<sup>6</sup> Yes ! but it is a tedious business to wait for the slow-spinning<sup>7</sup> distaffs. You will be cut off long before your thread<sup>8</sup> is spun out. You are long ago standing in his way, and are a drag upon his wishes. Long since your slow and stag-like<sup>9</sup> age is

<sup>1</sup> *Deciorum*. Cf. ad viii., 254. *Græcia vera*. Cf. x., 174, "Quidquid Græcia mendax audet."

<sup>2</sup> *Menæceus*. So called because he chose rather to "remain at home," and save his country from the Argive besiegers by self-sacrifice, than to escape, as his father urged, to Dodona. See the end of the *Phoenissæ* of Euripides, and the story of the pomegranates that grew on his grave, in Pausanias, ix., cap. xxv., 1. Cf. Cic., T. Qu., i., 48, and the end of the tenth book of Statius' *Thebais*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sulcis*. Ov., Met., iii., 1-130. Virg., Georg., ii., 141, *Satis immanis dentibus hydri, nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis*."

<sup>4</sup> *Ignem*. Pind., Pyth., iii., 66, πολλὰν τ' ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἐνδὸς σπέρματος ἐνθορόν ἀΐστωσεν ὕλαν.

<sup>5</sup> *Leo alumnus*. There is said to be an allusion to a real incident which occurred under Domitian. Cf. Mart., Ep., de Spect., x., "Læserat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum ausus tam notas contemnerare manus: sed dignas tanto persolvit crimine pœnas; et qui non tulerat verbera tela tulit." Æsch., Ag., 717, 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Mathematicis*. Suet., Calig., 57; Otho, 4. Cf. Sat. iii., 43; vi., 556, 562. Among these famous astrologers the names of Thrasyllus, Sulla, Theogenes, Scribonius, and Seleucus are preserved. The calculations necessary for casting these nativities are called "numeri Thrasylli," "Chaldaicæ rationes," "numeri Babylonii." Hor., i., Od. xi., 2. Cic., de Div., ii., 47. Ov., Ibis., 209, seq.

<sup>7</sup> *Grave*. Cf. Strat., Ep. lxxii., 4, φεῦ μοίρης τε κακῆς καὶ πατρὸς ἀθανάτων.

<sup>8</sup> *Stamine*. Cf. iii., 27, "Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat." x., 251, "De legibus ipse queratur Fatorum et nimio de stamine."

<sup>9</sup> *Cervina*. Cf. x., 247, "Exemplum vitæ fuit a cornice secundæ." The crow is said to live for nine generations of men. The old Scho-



irksome to the youth. Send for Archigenes<sup>1</sup> at once! and buy what Mithridates<sup>2</sup> compounded, if you would pluck another fig, or handle this year's roses. You must possess yourself of that drug which every father, and every king, should swallow before every meal.

I now present to you an especial gratification, to which you can find no match on any stage, or on the platform of the sumptuous prætor. If you only become spectator at what risk to life the additions to fortune are procured, the ample store in the brass-bound<sup>3</sup> chest, the gold to be deposited in watchful Castor's<sup>4</sup> temple; since Mars the avenger has lost helmet and all, and could not even protect his own property. You may give up, therefore, the games of Flora,<sup>5</sup>

liast says the stag lives for nine hundred years. Vid. Anthol. Gr., ii., 9, ἡ φάος ἀθρήσας ἐλάφου πλέον ἢ χειρὶ λαϊᾷ λῆρας ἀριθμεῖσθαι δεύτερον ἀρξαμένη. In the caldron prepared by Medea to renovate Æson, we find, "vivacisque jecur cervi quibus insuper addit ora caputque novem cornicis sæcula passæ." Auson., Idyll., xviii., 3, "Hos novies superat vivendo garrula cornix, et quater egreditur cornicis sæcula cervus."

<sup>1</sup> *Archigenem*. vi., 236; xiii., 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Mithridates*. vi., 660, "Sed tamen et ferro si prægustarit Atrides Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis." x., 273 "Regem transeo Ponti." Cf. Plin., xxiii., 24; xxv., 11. Mart., v., Ep. 76, "Profecit potō Mithridates sæpe veneno, Toxica ne possent sæva nocere sibi." This composition (Synthesis) is described by Serenus Sammonicus, the physician, and consists of ludicrously simple ingredients. xxx., 578. Cf. Plin., xxiii., 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ærata*. Cf. xi., 26, "Quantum ferratâ distet ab arcâ Sacculus."

<sup>4</sup> *Vigilem Castora*. So called, Grangæus says, "quod ante Castoris templum erant militum excubiæ." The temple of Mars Ultor, with its columns of marble, was built by Augustus. Suet., Aug., 29. To which Ovid alludes, Fast., v., 549, "Fallor an arma sonant? non fallimur, arma sonabant: Mars venit, et veniens bellica signa dedit. Ultor ad ipse suos cœlo descendit honores, Templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro."

<sup>5</sup> *Floræ*. Cf. vi., 250. Ov., Fast., v., 183-330. The Floralia were first sanctioned by the government A.U.C. 514, in the consulship of Centho and Tuditanus, the year Livius began to exhibit. They were celebrated on the last day of April and the first and second of May. The lowest courtesans appeared on the stage and performed obscene dances. Cf. Lactant., i., 20. Pers., v., 178.

of Ceres,<sup>1</sup> and of Cybele,<sup>2</sup> such far superior sport is the real business of life !

Do bodies projected from the petaurum,<sup>3</sup> or they that come down the tight-rope, furnish better entertainment than you, who take up your constant abode in your Corycian<sup>4</sup> bark, ever to be tossed up and down by Corus and by Auster? the desperate merchant of vile and stinking wares ! You, who delight in importing the rich<sup>5</sup> raisin from the shores of ancient Crete, and wine-flasks<sup>6</sup>—Jove's own fellow-countrymen ! Yet he that plants his foot with hazardous tread by that perilous barter earns his bread, and makes the rope ward off

<sup>1</sup> *Cereris*. The *Ludi Circenses* in honor of Ceres (vid. Tac., Ann., xv., 53, 74, Ruperti's note) consisted of horse-racing, and were celebrated the day before the ides of April. Ov., Fast., iv., 389, *seq.* They were instituted by C. Memmius when Curule Ædile, and were a patrician festival. Gell., ii., 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Cybeles*. Cf. vi., 69; xi., 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Petauro*. The exact nature of this feat of agility is not determined by the commentators. The word is derived from *αὔρα* and *πέτομαι*, and therefore seems to imply some machine for propelling persons through the air, which a line in Lucilius seems to confirm, "Sicuti mechanici cum alto exsiluere petauro." Fr. incert. xli. So Manilius, v., 434, "Corpora quæ valido salient excussa petauro, alternosque cunct motus: elatus et ille nunc jacet atque hujus casu suspenditur ille, membraque per flammas orbesque emissas flagrant." Mart., ii., Ep. 86, "Quid si per graciles vias petauri Invitum jubeas subire Ladam." XI., xxi., 3, "Quam rota transmisso toties intacta petauro." Holyday gives a drawing in which it resembles an oscillum or swing. Facciolati describes it as "genus ludi, quo homines per aërem rotarum pulsum jactantur."

<sup>4</sup> *Corycus* was the northwestern headland of Crete, with an island of the same name lying off it. [There were two other towns of the same name, in Lydia and Cilicia, both infested with pirates: the latter gave its name to the famous Corycian cave. Pind., Pyth., i. Æsch., P. V., 350.]

<sup>5</sup> *Municipes*. The Κρήτες αἰὲν ψεύσται boasted, says Callimachus, that Crete was not only the birthplace, but also the burial-place of Jove. Cf. iv., 33, "Jam princeps equitum magnâ qui voce solebat vendere municipes pacta mercedes siluros." So Martial calls Cumæan pottery-ware, "testa municipes Sibyllæ," xiv., Ep. cxiv., and Tyrian cloaks, "Cadmî municipes lacernas." Cf. Aristoph., Ach., 333, where Diceopolis producing his coal-basket says, ὁ λάρκος δημότης ὁδ' ἐστ' ἐμός. Crete was famous for this "passum," a kind of rich raisin wine, which it appears from Athenæus the Roman ladies were allowed to drink. Liv. x., p. 440, e. Grangæus calls it "Malvoisie."

<sup>6</sup> *Lagenas*. Cf. vii., 121.

both cold and hunger. *You run your desperate risk, for a thousand talents and a hundred villas. Behold the harbor! the sea swarming with tall ships! more than one half the world is now at sea. Wherever the hope of gain invites, a fleet will come; nor only bound over the Carpathian and Gætulian seas, but leaving Calpe<sup>1</sup> far behind, hear Phœbus hissing in the Herculean main. A noble recompense indeed for all this toil! that you return home thence with well-stretched purse; and exulting in your swelled money-bags,<sup>2</sup> brag of having seen Ocean's monsters,<sup>3</sup> and young mermen!*

A different madness distracts different minds. One, while in his sister's arms, is terrified at the features and torches of the Eumenides.<sup>4</sup> Another, when he lashes the bull,<sup>5</sup> believes it is Agamemnon or Ulysses roars. What though he spare his tunic or his cloak, that man requires a keeper,<sup>6</sup> who loads his ship with a cargo up to the very bulwarks, and has but a plank<sup>7</sup> between himself and the wave.

<sup>1</sup> *Calpe*, now Gibraltar. It is said to have been Epicurus' notion, that the sun, when setting in the ocean, hissed like red-hot iron plunged in water. Cf. Stat. Sylv., II., vii., 27, "*Felix heu nimis et beata tellus, quæ pronos Hyperionis meatus summis oceani vides in undis stridoremque rotæ cadentis audis.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Aluta*. Cf. vii., 192, "*Appositam nigræ lunam subtexit alutæ,*" where it is used for the shoe-leather, as Mart., xii., Ep. 25, and ii., 29. Ov., A. A., iii., 271. It is a leathern *apron* in Mart., vii., Ep. 25, and a leathern sail in Cæs., B. Gall., III., xiii. Here it is a leathern money-bag. It takes its name from the alumen used in the process of tanning.

<sup>3</sup> *Oceani monstra*. So Tacitus, Ann., iii 24, "*Ut quis ex longinquo reverterat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas; visa sive ex metu credita.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Eumenidum*. Eurip., Orest., 254, seq. Æsch., Eumen. Hor., ii., Sat. iii., 132, seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Bove percusso*. Soph., Aj. Cf. ad vii., 115; x., 84.

<sup>6</sup> *Curatoris*. The Laws of the xii. tables directed that "*Si furiosus essit, agnatorum gentiliumque in eo pecuniâque ejus potestas esto.*" Tab., v., 7. Cf. Hor., i., Ep. i., 102, "*Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere à prætore dati.*" ii., Sat. iii., 217, "*Interdicto huic omne adimat jus prætor.*"

<sup>7</sup> *Tabulâ*. Cf. xii., 57, "*Dolato confisus ligno, digitas a morte remotus quatuor aut septem, si sit latissima tæda.*"

While the motive cause to all this hardship and this fearful risk, is silver cut up into petty legends and minute portraits. Clouds and lightning oppose his voyage. "All hands unmoor!" exclaims the owner of the corn and pepper he has bought up. "This lowering sky, that bank of sable clouds portends no ill! It is but summer lightning!"

Unhappy wretch! perchance that selfsame night he will be borne down, overwhelmed with shivering timbers and the surge, and clutch his purse with his left hand and his teeth. And he, to whose covetous desires<sup>1</sup> but lately not all the gold sufficed which Tagus<sup>2</sup> or Pactolus<sup>3</sup> rolls down in its ruddy sand, must now be content with a few rags to cover his nakedness, and a scanty morsel, while as a "poor shipwrecked mariner" he begs for pence, and maintains himself by his painting of the storm.<sup>4</sup>

Yet, what is earned by hardships great as these, involves

"Who loads his bark till it can scarcely swim,  
And leaves thin planks betwixt the waves and him!  
A little legend and a figure small  
Stamp'd on a scrap of gold, the cause of all!" Badham.

<sup>1</sup> *Cujus votis.*

"Lo! where that wretched man half naked stands,  
To whom of rich Pactolus all the sands  
Were naught but yesterday! his nature fed  
On painted storms that earned compassion's bread." Badham.

<sup>2</sup> *Tagus.* Cf. iii., 55, "Omnis arena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum." Mart., i., Ep. l., 15; x., Ep. xcvi., "Auriferumque Tagum sitiam." Ov., Met., ii., 251, "Quodque suo Tagus amne vehit fluit ignibus aurum."

<sup>3</sup> The *Pactolus* flows into the *Hermus* a little above *Magnesia ad Sepylum*. Its sands were said to have been changed into gold by *Midas*' bathing in its waters, hence called *εὐχρύσος* by *Sophocles*. *Philoct.*, 391. It flows under the walls of *Sardis*, and is closely connected by the poets with the name and wealth of *Croesus*. The real fact being, that the gold ore was washed down from *Mount Tmolus*; which *Strabo* says had ceased to be the case in his time: lib. xiii., c. 4. Cf. *Virg.*, *Æn.*, x., 141, "Ubi pinguis culta exercentque vivi Pactolusque irrigat auro." *Senec.*, *Phœn.*, 604, "Et quâ trahens opulenta Pactolus vada inundat auro rura." *Athen.*, v. It is still called *Bagouli*.

<sup>4</sup> *Picta tempestate.* Cf. ad xii., 27.

"Poor shipwreck'd sailor! tell thy tale and show  
The sign-post daubing of thy watery woe." Hodgson.

still greater care and fear to keep. Wretched, indeed, is the guardianship<sup>1</sup> of a large fortune.

Licinus,<sup>2</sup> rolling in wealth, bids his whole regiment of slaves mount guard with leathern buckets<sup>3</sup> all in rows; in dread alarm for his amber, and his statues, and his Phrygian marble,<sup>4</sup> and his ivory, and massive tortoise-shell.

The tub of the naked Cynic<sup>5</sup> does not catch fire! If you smash it, another home will be built by to-morrow, or else the same will stand, if soldered with a little lead. Alexander felt, when he saw in that tub its great inhabitant, how much more really happy was he who coveted nothing, than he who aimed at gaining to himself the whole world; doomed to suffer perils equivalent to the exploits he achieved.

Had we but foresight, thou, Fortune, wouldst have no divinity.<sup>6</sup> It is *we* that make thee a goddess! Yet if any

<sup>1</sup> *Custodia*.

"First got with guile, and then preserved with dread." Spenser.

<sup>2</sup> *Licinus*. Cf. ad i., 109, "Ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinis."

<sup>3</sup> *Hamis*. Hama, "a leathern bucket," from the ἄμῆ of Plutarch. Augustus instituted seven Cohortes Vigilum, who paraded the city at night under the command of their Præfectus, equipped with "hamæ" and "dolabræ" to prevent fires. Cf. Plin., x., Ep. 42, who, giving Trajan an account of a great fire at Nicomedia in his province, says, "Nullus in publico siphon, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda." Tac., Ann., xv., 43, "Jam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta, quo largior, et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes, et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet: nec communione parietum, sed propriis quæque muris ambirentur." (Ubi vid. Ruperti's note.) These custodes were called "Castellarii." Gruter. Cf. Sat. iii., 197, seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Phrygiaque columnâ*. Cf. ad lin. 89.

<sup>5</sup> *Dolia nudi Cynici*. Cf. ad xiii., 122. The story is told by Plutarch, Vit. Alex. Cf. Diog. Laert., VI., ii., 6. It is said that Diogenes died at Corinth, the same day Alexander died at Babylon. Cf. x., 171.

"The naked cynic mocks such anxious cares,

His earthen tub no conflagration fears:

If crack'd or broken, he procures a new;

Or, coarsely soldering, makes the old one do." Gifford.

*Nullum numen*. Cf. x., 365.

"Where prudence dwells, there Fortune is unknown,

By man a goddess made, by man alone." Badham.

one were to consult me what proportion of income is sufficient, I will tell you. Just as much as thirst and hunger<sup>1</sup> and cold require; as much as satisfied you, Epicurus,<sup>2</sup> in your little garden! as much as the home of Socrates contained before. Nature never gives one lesson, and philosophy another. Do I seem to bind you down to too strict examples? Then throw in something to suit our present manners. Make up the sum<sup>3</sup> which Otho's law thinks worthy of the Fourteen Rows.

If this make you contract your brows, and put out your lip, then take two knights' estate, make it the three Four-hundred!<sup>4</sup> If I have not yet filled your lap, but still it gapes for more, then neither Cræsus' wealth nor the realms of Persia will ever satisfy you. No! nor even Narcissus'<sup>5</sup> wealth! on whom Claudius Cæsar lavished all, and whose behest he obeyed, when bidden even to kill his wife.

<sup>1</sup> *Sitis atque fames.* Hor., i., Sat. i., 73, "Nescis quo valeat nummus quem præbeat usum? Panis ematur, olus, vini Sextarius; adde Queis humana sibi doleat natura negatis."

<sup>2</sup> *Epicure.* Cf. xiii., 122, "Non Epicurum suspicit exigui lætum plantaribus horti."

"As much as made wise Epicurus blest,

Who in small gardens spacious realms possess'd :

This is what nature's wants may well suffice ;

He that would more is covetous, not wise." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Summam.* Cf. iii., 154, "De pulvino surgat equestri Cujus res legi non sufficit." Plin., xxxii., 2, "Tiberio imperante constitutem ne quis in equestri ordine conseretur, nisi cui ingenuo ipsi, patri, avoque paterno sestertia quadringenta census fuisset." Cf. i., 105 ; iii., 159, "Sic libitum vano qui nos distinxit Othoni."

<sup>4</sup> *Tertia Quadringenta.* Suet., Aug., 41, "Senatorum Censum amplavit, ac pro Octingentorum millium summâ, duodecies sestertio taxavit, supplevitque non habentibus."

<sup>5</sup> *Narcissi.* Of his wealth Dio says (lx., p. 688), μέγιστον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδυνήθη μυριάδα τε γὰρ πλείους μυρίων εἶχε. Narcissus and his other freedmen, Posides, Felix, Polybius, etc., exercised unlimited control over the idiotic Claudius, but Pallas and Narcissus were his chief favorites, "Quos decreto quoque senatus, non præmiis modo ingentibus, sed et quæstoriiis prætorisque ornamentis ornari libenter passus est:" and so much did they abuse his kindness, that when he was once complaining of the low state of his exchequer, it was said, "abundaturum si à duobus libertis in consortium recipere-



## SATIRE XV.

## ARGUMENT.

AFTER enumerating with great humor the animal and vegetable gods of the Egyptians, the author directs his powerful ridicule at their sottish and ferocious bigotry; of which he gives an atrocious and loathsome example. The conclusion of the Satire, which is a just and beautiful description of the origin of civil society (infinitely superior to any thing that Lucretius or Horace has delivered on the subject), founded not on natural instinct, but on principles of mutual benevolence implanted by God in the breast of man, and of man alone, does honor to the genius, good sense, and enlightened morality of the author.

WHO knows not, O Volusius<sup>1</sup> of Bithynia, the sort of monsters Egypt,<sup>2</sup> in her infatuation, worships? One part venerates the crocodile:<sup>3</sup> another trembles before an Ibis gorged with serpents. The image of a sacred monkey glitters in gold, where the magic chords sound from Memnon<sup>4</sup>

tur." Claudius would have certainly pardoned Messalina, had it not been for Narcissus. "Nec enim Claudius Messalinam interfecisset, nisi properâsset index, delator adulterii, et quodammodo imperator cædis Narcissus." See the whole account, Tac., Ann., xi., 26-38. Suet., Claud., 26, seq. On the accession of Nero, Narcissus was compelled by Agrippina to commit suicide. Cf. ad x., 330.

"No! nor his heaps, whom doting Claudius gave  
Power over all, and made himself a slave;  
From whom the dictates of command he drew,  
And, urged to slay his wife, obedient slew." Hodgson.

<sup>1</sup> *Volusius* is unknown. Some suppose him to be the same person as the Bithynicus to whom Plutarch wrote a treatise on Friendship.

<sup>2</sup> *Ægyptus*. So Cicero, "Ægyptiorum morem quis ignorat? Quorum imbutæ mentes pravitate erroribus, quamvis carnificinam prius subierint quam ibin aut aspidem aut felem aut canem aut crocodilum violent; quorum etiam imprudentes si quidquam fecerint, pœnam nullam recusent." Tusc. Qn., v., 27. Cf. Athen., vol. ii., p. 650, Dind.

<sup>3</sup> *Crocodilon*. Vid. Herod., ii., 69.—*Ibin*. Cic., de Nat. Deor., i., 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Memnone*. His statue stood in the temple of Serapis at Thebes. Plin., xxvi., 7. Strabo, xvii., c. 1, τὰ ἄνω μέρη τὰ ἀπο τῆς καθέδρας πέπτωκε σεισμῷ γεννηθέντος. He says the ψόφος comes from "the lower part remaining on the base." Cf. l. 56, "Vultus dimidios." Sat. viii., 4, "Et Curios jam dimidios." iii., 219, "Mediamque Minervam." Cf. Clinton, Fasti Romani, in A.D. 130.

broken in half, and ancient Thebes lies buried in ruins, with her hundred gates. In one place they venerate sea-fish, in another river-fish; there, whole towns worship a dog;<sup>1</sup> no one Diana. It is an impious act to violate or break with the teeth a leek or an onion.<sup>2</sup> O holy nations! whose gods grow for them in their gardens!<sup>3</sup> Every table abstains from animals that have wool: it is a crime there to kill a kid. But human flesh is lawful food.

Were Ulysses<sup>4</sup> to relate at supper such a deed as this to the amazed Alcinous, he would perhaps have excited the ridicule or anger of some, as a lying babbler.<sup>5</sup> "Does no one hurl this fellow into the sea, that deserves indeed a savage Charybdis and a real one<sup>6</sup> too, for inventing<sup>7</sup> his huge Læstrygones<sup>8</sup> and Cyclops. For I would far more readily believe in Scylla, or the Cyanean rocks that clash together,"<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Canem*. Cf. Lucan, viii., 832, "Semideosque canes." The allusion is to the worship of Anubis, cf. vi., 533.

<sup>2</sup> *Porrum*. "And it is dangerous here to violate an onion, or to stain The sanctity of leeks with teeth profane." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Hortis*. "Ye pious nations, in whose gardens rise A constant crop of earth-sprung deities!" Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Ulyxes*. Vid. Hom., Odyss., ix., 106. *seq.*; x., 80, *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Aretalogus*. "Parasitus, et circulator philosophus." A discourser on virtue who frequented feasts; hence, one who tells pleasing tales, a romancer. The philosopher at last degenerated into the buffoon. Cicero uses "Ethologus" in nearly the same sense, cf. de Orat., ii., 59, cum not. Harles. Suet., Aug., 74, "Acroamata et histriones, aut etiam triviales ex Circo ludios, interponebat, ac frequentius aretalogos." Salmas., ad Flav. Vopisc., 42. Lucian, de Ver. Hist., i., 709, B. Shakspeare, Othello, A t i., sc. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Verâ*. Cf. viii., 188, "Judice me dignus verâ cruce."

<sup>7</sup> *Fingentem, i.e.*, "that they fed on human victims."

<sup>8</sup> *Læstrygones*. Their fabulous seat was Formiæ, now "Mola," whither they were led from Sicily by Lamus, their leader. Hor., iii., Od. xvii., 1; xvi., 34. Hom., Odyss., x., 81.

<sup>9</sup> *Concurrentia saxa*. These rocks were at the northern entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus, now the Channel of Constantinople; and were fabled to have floated and crushed all vessels that passed the straits, till Minerva guided the ship Argo through in safety and fixed them forever. They were hence called *συνπληγάδες, συνδρομάδες, πλαγκταί, and κνάνεια*, from the deep blue of the surrounding water. Homer places them near Sicily. Odyss., xii., 61; xxiii., 327. Pind.,

and the skins filled with stormy winds; or that Elpenor, struck with the light touch of Circe's wand, grunted in company with his messmates turned to hogs. Does he suppose the heads of the Phæacians so void<sup>1</sup> of brains?"

So might any one with reason have argued, who was not yet drunk,<sup>2</sup> and had taken but a scanty draught<sup>3</sup> of the potent wine from the Corcyraean<sup>4</sup> bowl; for the Ithacan<sup>5</sup> told his adventures alone, with none to attest his veracity. We are about to relate events, wondrous indeed, but achieved only lately, while Junius<sup>6</sup> was consul, above the walls of sultry Coptos.<sup>7</sup> We shall recount the crime of a whole people, deeds more atrocious than any tragedy could furnish. For from the days of Pyrrha,<sup>8</sup> though you turn over every tragic

Pyth., iv., 370. Cf. Herod., iv., 85. Eur., Med., 2; Androm., 794, Theoc., Idyll., xiii., 22. Ov., Her., xii., 121. "Compressos utinam Symplegades elisissent," Trist., I., x., 34. They are now called "Pavorane."

<sup>1</sup> *Vacui*. Cf. xiv., 57, "Vacuumque cerebro jampridem caput." Cf. Virg., Æn., i., 567, "Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni."

"But men to eat men human faith surpasses,

This traveler takes us islanders for asses." Dryden.

<sup>2</sup> *Nondum ebrius*.

"So might some sober hearer well have said,

Ere Corcyraean stingo turned his head," Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Temetum*, an old word of doubtful etymology: from it is derived "temulentus" and "abstemius" (cf. Hor., ii., Ep. 163), and the phrase "Temeti timor" for a parasite.

<sup>4</sup> *Corcyraea*. The Phæacians were luxurious fellows, as Horace implies: "Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phæaxque reverti." i., Ep., xv., 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ithacus*. So x., 257; xiv., 287.

<sup>6</sup> *Junio*. Salmasius supposes this Junius to be Q. Junius Rusticus, or Rusticius, consul with Hadrian, A.U.C. 872, A.D. 119. (Plin., Exerc., p. 320.) Others refer it to an Appius Junius Sabinus, consul with Domitian, A.U.C. 835, A.D. 82. But the name of Domitian's colleague was *Titus Flavius*; and no person of the name of Junius appears in the lists of consuls till Rusticus. Some read Junco, or Vinco, to avoid the synizesis; but neither of these names occur. See Life.

<sup>7</sup> *Copti*, now Kypt or Koft, about twelve miles from Tentyra, thirty from Thebes, and one hundred and twenty from Syene, where Juvenal was stationed. Ptolemy Philadelphus connected it by a road with Berenice.

<sup>8</sup> *Pyrrha*. Cf. i., 84.

theme,<sup>1</sup> in none is a whole people<sup>2</sup> made the perpetrators of the guilt. Here, then, an instance which even in our own days ruthless barbarism<sup>3</sup> produced. There is an inveterate and long-standing grudge,<sup>4</sup> a deathless hatred and a rankling wound that knows no cure, burning fiercely still between Ombos<sup>5</sup> and Tentyra, two neighboring peoples. On both sides the principal rancor arises from the fact that each place hates its neighbor's gods,<sup>6</sup> and believes those only ought to be held as deities which itself worships. But at a festive period of one of those peoples, the chiefs and leaders

<sup>1</sup> *Syrmata*. Properly the "long sweeping train of tragedy." Vid. Hor., A. P., 278, "Personæ pallæque repertor honestæ." Sat., viii., 229, "Longum tu pone Thyestæ Syrma vel Antigones vel personam Menalippes." So Milton, Il Pens., "Sometimes let gorgeous tragedy in sceptred pall come sweeping by." Cf. Mart., xii., Ep. xcv., 3, 4; iv., Ep. xlix., 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Populus*. i.e., "Tragedy only relates the atrocious crimes of individuals: from the days of the Deluge, you can find no instance of wickedness extending to a whole nation."

<sup>3</sup> *Feritas*. Aristotle enumerates as one of the characteristics of θηριότης, τὸ χαίρειν κρέασιν ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>4</sup> *Simultas* is properly "the jealousy or rivalry of two persons candidates for the same office," from *simulo*, synom. with *æmulari*; or from *simul*. Vid. Doederlein, iii., 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ombos*, now "Koum-Ombou," lies on the right bank of the Nile, not far from Syene, and consequently a hundred miles at least from Tentyra. To avoid the difficulty, therefore, in the word "finitimos," Salmasius would read "Coptos," this place being only twelve miles distant; but all the best editions have Ombos. Tentyra, now "Denderah," lies on the left bank of the river, and is well known from the famous discoveries in its Temple by Napoleon's savans. The Tentyrites, as Strabo tells us (xvii., p. 460; cf. Plin., H. N., viii., 25), differed from the rest of their countrymen in their hatred and persecution of the crocodile, πάντα τρόπον ἀνιχνεύουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν αὐτούς, being the only Egyptians who dared attack or face them; and hence when some crocodiles were conveyed to Rome for exhibition, some Tentyrite keepers accompanied them, and displayed some curious feats of courage and dexterity. Aphrodite was their patron deity. The men of Coptos, Ombos, and Arsinoë, on the other hand, paid the crocodile the highest reverence; considering it an honor to have their children devoured by them; and crucified kites out of spite to the Tentyrites, who adored them. These religious differences are said by Diodorus (ii., 4) to have been fostered by the policy of the ancient kings, to prevent the conspiracies which might have resulted from the cordial union and coalition of the various nomes.

<sup>6</sup> *Alterius populi*, i.e., the Tentyrites. Cf. l. 73, seq.

of their enemies determined that the opportunity must be seized, to prevent their enjoying their day of mirth and cheerfulness, and the delights of a grand dinner, when their tables were spread near the temples and cross ways, and the couch that knows not sleep, since occasionally even the seventh day's sun finds it still there, spread without intermission of either night or day.<sup>1</sup> Savage,<sup>2</sup> in truth, is Egypt! But in luxury, so far as I myself remarked, even the barbarous mob does not fall short of the infamous Canopus.<sup>3</sup>

Besides, victory is easily gained over men reeking<sup>4</sup> with wine, stammering<sup>5</sup> and reeling. On one side there was a crew of fellows dancing to a black piper; perfumes, such as they were; and flowers, and garlands in plenty round their brows. On the other side was ranged fasting hate. But

<sup>1</sup> *Pervigili*. Cf. viii., 158, "Sed quum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas."

"The board, where oft their wakeful revels last

Till seven returning days and nights are past." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Horrida*. So viii., 116, "Horrida vitanda est Hispania." ix., 12, "Horrida siccae sylva comæ." vi., 10, "Et sæpe horridior glandem ructante marito."

"For savage as the country is, it vies

In luxury, if I may trust my eyes,

With dissolute Canopus." Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Canopus*. Cf. i., 26. Said to have been built by Menelaus, and named after his pilot. It lies on the Bay of Aboukir, not far from Alexandria, and was notorious for its luxury and debauchery, carried on principally in the temple of Serapis. Cf. vi., 84, "Prodigia et mores Urbis damnante Canopo." Sen., *Epist.* 51. *Propert.*, iii., El. xi., 39. These lines prove that Juvenal was, at some time of his life, in Egypt; but whether he traveled thither in early life to gratify his curiosity, or, as the common story goes, was banished there in his old age to appease the wrath of Paris, is doubtful. The latter story is inconsistent with chronology, history, and probability.

<sup>4</sup> *Madidis*. So vi., 207, "Atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum." βεβρεγμένος ὑπομεθύων. Hesych., *Sil.*, xii., 18, "Molli luxu madefacta meroque Illecebris somni torpentia membra fluebant." Cf. *Plaut.*, *Truc.* IV., iv., 2, "Si alia membra vino madeant." *Most.*, I., iv., 7, "Ecquid tibi videor madere?" *Tibull.*, II., i., 29, "Non festâ luce madere est rubor, errantes et male ferre pedes." and II., ii., 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Blæsis*. Cf. *Mart.*, x., *Ep.* 65. So *Virgil* (*Georg.*, ii., 94) speaks of the vine as "Tentatura pedes olim vincturaque linguam." *Propert.*, II., xxxiv., 22. *Sen.*, *Epist.*, 83.



with minds inflamed, they begin first of all to give vent to railings<sup>1</sup> in words.

This was the signal-blast<sup>2</sup> of the fray. Then with shouts from both sides, the conflict begins; and in lieu of weapons,<sup>3</sup> the unarmed hand rages.

Few cheeks were without a wound. Scarcely one, if any, had a whole nose out of the whole line of combatants. Now you might see, through all the hosts engaged, mutilated faces,<sup>4</sup> features not to be recognized, bones showing ghastly beneath the lacerated cheek, fists dripping with blood from their enemies' eyes. But still the combatants themselves consider they are only in sport, and engaged in a childish<sup>5</sup> encounter, because they do not trample any corpses under foot. What, forsooth, is the object of so many thousands mixing in the fray, if no life is to be sacrificed? The attack, therefore, is more vigorous; and now with arms inclined along the ground they begin to hurl stones<sup>6</sup> they have picked up—Sedition's<sup>7</sup> own peculiar weapons.

<sup>1</sup> *Jurgia*. So v., 26, "*Jurgia proludunt.*" iii., 288, "*Miseræ cognosce proœmia rixæ.*" Tac., Hist., i., 64, "*Jurgia primum: mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Tuba*. Cf. i., 169, and Virg., *Æn.*, xi., 424, The whole of the following passage may be compared with Virg., *Æn.*, vii., 505-527.

<sup>3</sup> *Vice teli*. Ov., Met., xii., 381, "*Sævique vicem præstantia teli.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Vultus dimidios*. viii., 4, "*Curios jam dimidios, humeroque minorem Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem.*"

"Then might you see, amid the desperate fray,  
Features disfigured, noses torn away;  
Hands, where the gore of mangled eyes yet reeks,  
And jaw-bones starting through the cloven cheeks." Gifford.

<sup>5</sup> *Pueriles*. Virg., *Æn.*, v., 584-602.

"But hitherto both parties think the fray  
But mockery of war, mere children's play!  
And scandal think it t' have none slain outright,  
Between two hosts that for religion fight." Dryden.

<sup>6</sup> *Saxa*. "Stones, the base rabble's home-artillery." Hodgson.

<sup>7</sup> *Seditioni*. Henninius' correction for *seditione*. For "*domestica*" in this sense, cf. Sat. ix., 17. So Virg., *Æn.*, i., 150, "*Jamque faces et saxa volant. furor arma ministrat.*" vii., 507, "*Quod cuique repertum rimanti telum ira facit.*"



Yet not such stones as Ajax<sup>1</sup> or as Turnus<sup>2</sup> hurled; nor of the weight of that with which Tydides<sup>3</sup> hit Æneas' thigh; but such as right hands far different to theirs, and produced in our age, have power to project. For even in Homer's<sup>4</sup> lifetime men were beginning to degenerate. Earth now gives birth to weak and puny mortals.<sup>5</sup> Therefore every god that looks down on them sneers and hates them!

After this digression<sup>6</sup> let us resume our story. When they had been re-inforced by subsidies, one of the parties is emboldened to draw the sword, and renew the battle with deadly-aiming<sup>7</sup> arrows. Then they who inhabit Tentyra,<sup>8</sup> bordering

<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*. Hom., Il., vii., 268, δεῦτερος αὐτ' Αἴας πολὺ μείζονα λαῶν αἰέρας ἥκ' ἐπιδινήσας ἐπέρεισε δὲ ἰὺ ἀπέλεθρον.

<sup>2</sup> *Turnus*. Virg., Æn., xi., 896, "Saxum circumspicit ingens: saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte jacebat Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis. Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent, Qualia nunc hominūm producit corpora tellus." Cf. Hom., Il., xxi., 405.

<sup>3</sup> *Tydides*. Il., v., 302, ὁ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβέ χειρὶ Τυδείδης μέγα ἔργον δ' οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἴσ' ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἷος.

<sup>4</sup> *Homero*. Il., i., 271, κείνοισι δ' ἄν οὔτις τῶν οἷ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαχέοιτο.

<sup>5</sup> *Malos homines*. Cf. Herod., i., 68. Plin., vii., 16. Lucretius, ii., 1149, "Jamque adeo fracta est ætas, effetaque tellus Vix animalia parva creat, quæ cuncta creavit sæcla." Sen., de Ben., I., c. x., "Hoc majores nostri questi sunt, hoc nos querimus, hoc posterī nostri querentur, eversos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas labi." Hor., iii., Od. vi., 46, "Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit nos nequiores, mox daturos Progeniem vitiosiore."

<sup>6</sup> *Diverticulo*. Properly a "cross-road," then "a place to which we turn aside from the high road; halting or refreshing place." Cf. Liv., ix., 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Infestis*. So Virg., Æn., v., 582, "Convertère vias, infesta que tela tulere." 691, "Vel tu quod superest infesto fulmine morti, Si mereor dimitte." x., 877, "Infestā subit obvius hastā;" Liv., ii., 19, "Tarquinius Superbus quanquam jam ætate et viribus gravior, equum infestus admisit."

<sup>8</sup> *Tentyra*. Cf. ad l. 35. Salmasius proposes to read here "Pampæ" (the name of a small town) for *Palmæ*, on account of the difficulty stated above; and supposes this to be Juvenal's way of distinguishing Tentyra; but Pampa is a much smaller place than Tentyra; and no one would describe London, as Browne observes, as "Lóndon near Chelsea." He imagines also that Juvenal is describing an affray that took place between the people of Cynopolis and Oxyrynchis about this time, mentioned by Plutarch (de Isid. et Osirid.), and

on the shady palms, press upon their foes, who all in rapid flight leave their backs exposed. Here one of them, in excess of terror urging his headlong course, falls<sup>1</sup> and is caught. Forthwith the victorious crowd having cut him up into numberless bits and fragments, in order that one dead man might furnish a morsel for many, eat him completely up, having gnawed his very bones. They neither cooked him in a seething caldron, nor on a spit. So wearisome<sup>2</sup> and tedious did they think it to wait for a fire, that they were even content with the carcass raw. Yet at this we should rejoice, that they profaned not the deity of fire which Prometheus<sup>3</sup> stole from highest heaven and gave to earth. I congratulate<sup>4</sup> the element! and you too, I ween, are glad.<sup>5</sup> But he that could bear to chew a human corpse, never tasted a sweeter<sup>6</sup> morsel than this flesh. For in a deed of such horrid atrocity, pause not to inquire or doubt whether it was the first maw alone that felt the horrid delight! Nay! he that came up last,<sup>7</sup> when the whole body was now de-

that he has changed the names for the sake of the metre. Heinrich leaves the difficulty unsolved. Browne supposes *two* places of the name of Tentyra.

<sup>1</sup> *Labitur*. Gifford compares Hesiod., Herc. Scut., 251, Δῆριν ἔχον περὶ πιπτόντων· πᾶσαι δ' ἄρ' ἔεντο αἶμα μέλαν πίεειν· ὃν δὲ πρῶτον μεμάτοιεν κείμενον ἢ πίπτοντα νεοῦτατον, ἀμθὶ μὲν αὐτῷ βάλλ' ὄνυχας μεγάλους.

<sup>2</sup> *Longum*. "T had been lost time to dress him; keen desire Supplies the want of kettle, spit, and fire." Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Prometheus*. Vid. Hesiod., Op. et Di., 49, seq. Theog., 564. Æsch., P. Vinc., 109. Hor., i., Od. iii., 27. Cic., Tusc. Qu., II., x., 23. Mart., xiv., Ep. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Gratulor*. So Ov., Met., x., 305, "Gentibus Ismariis et nostro gratulor orbi, gratulor huic terræ, quod abest regionibus illis, Quæ tantum genungere nefas."

<sup>5</sup> *Te exsultare*. Juvenal's friend Volusius is supposed to have had a leaning toward the doctrine of the fire-worshippers. At least this is the puerile way in which most of the commentators endeavor to escape the difficulty.

<sup>6</sup> *Libentius*. "But he who tasted first the human food, Swore never flesh was so divinely good," Hodgson.

<sup>7</sup> *Ultimus*. "And the last comer, of his dues bereft, Sucks from the bloodstain'd soil some flavor left."

Badham.

voured, by drawing his fingers along the ground, got a taste of the blood !

The Vascones,<sup>1</sup> as report says, protracted their lives by the use of such nutriment as this. But the case is very different. There we have the bitter hate of fortune ! the last extremity of war, the very climax of despair, the awful destitution<sup>2</sup> of a long-protracted siege. For the instance of such food of which we are now speaking, ought to call forth our pity.<sup>3</sup> Since it was only after they had exhausted herbs of all kinds,<sup>4</sup> and every animal to which the gnawings of an empty stomach drove them, and while their enemies themselves commiserated their pale and emaciated features and wasted limbs, they in their ravenous famine tore in pieces others' limbs, ready to devour even their own ! What man, or what god even, would refuse his pardon to brave men<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vascones*. Sil. Ital., x., 15. The Vascones lived in the northeast of Spain, near the Pyrenees, in parts of Navarre, Aragon, and old Castile. They and the Cantabri were the most warlike people of Hispania Tarrocensis. Their southern boundary was the Iberus (Ebro). Their chief cities were Calagurris Nassica (now Calahorra in New Castile), on the right bank of the Iberus; and Pompelon (now Pampluna), at the foot of the Pyrenees, said to have been founded by Cn. Pompeius Magnus, vid. Plin., III., iii., 4. It is doubtful which of these two cities held out in the manner alluded to in the text. Sertorius was assassinated B.C. 72, and the Vascones, whose faith was pledged to him, sooner than submit to Pompey and Metellus, suffered the most horrible extremities, even devouring their wives and children. Cf. Liv., Epit., xciii. Flor., III., xxxii. Val. Max., VII., vi. Plut. in v. Sert. The Vascones afterward crossed the Pyrenees into Aquitania, and their name is still preserved in the province of Gasconne.

<sup>2</sup> *Egestas*. "When frowning war against them stood array'd  
With the dire famine of a long blockade." Hodgson.

<sup>3</sup> *Miserabile*. ii., 18, "Horum simplicitas miserabilis."

<sup>4</sup> *Post omnes herbas*.

"For after every root and herb were gone,  
And every aliment to hunger known;  
When their lean frames and cheeks of sallow hue  
Struck e'en the foe with pity at the view;  
And all were ready their own flesh to tear,  
They first adventured on this horrid fare." Gifford.

<sup>5</sup> *Viribus*. The abstract used for the concrete. Another reading is, *Urbibus*, referring to Calagurris and Saguntus. Vaesius proposed to read "Ventribus," which Orellius receives.

suffering such fierce extremities? men, whom the very spirits of those whose bodies they fed on, could have forgiven! The precepts of Zeno teach us a better lesson. For he thinks that *some* things only, and not *all*, ought to be done to preserve life.<sup>1</sup> But whence could a Cantabrian learn the Stoics' doctrines? especially in the days of old Metellus. Now the whole world has the Grecian and our Athens.

Eloquent Gaul<sup>2</sup> has taught the Britons<sup>3</sup> to become pleaders; and even Thule<sup>4</sup> talks of hiring a rhetorician.

Yet that noble people whom we have mentioned, and their equal in courage and fidelity, their more than equal in calamity, Saguntum,<sup>5</sup> has some excuse to plead for such a deed as this! Whereas Egypt is more barbarous even than the altar of Mæotis. Since that Tauric<sup>6</sup> inventress of the

<sup>1</sup> *Quædam pro vitâ.* Cf. Arist., Eth., iii., 1, 'Ἐνια δ' ἰσως οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκασθῆναι ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀποθνήτεον, παθόντα τὰ δεινότερα. Plin., xxviii., 1, "Vitam quidem non adeo expetendam censemus ut quoquo modo protrahenda sit." Sen., Ep. 72, "Non omni pretio vita emenda est."

<sup>2</sup> *Gallia.* Cf. ad i., 44. Suet., Cal., xx., "Caligula instituit in Gallia, Lugduni, certamen Græcæ Latinæque facundiæ." Quintil., x., 1. Sat., vii., 148, "Accipiat te Gallia, vel potius nutricula causidicorum Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguæ."

<sup>3</sup> *Britannos.* Tac., Agric., xxi., "Ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre: ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent."

<sup>4</sup> *Thule.* Used generally for the northernmost region of the earth. Its position shifted with the advance of their geographical knowledge: hence it is used for Sweden, Norway, Shetland, or Iceland. Virg., Georg., i., 30, "Tibi serviat ultima Thule."

<sup>5</sup> *Saguntus*, now "Mur Viedro" in Valencia, is memorable for its obstinate resistance to Hannibal, during a siege of eight months (described Liv., xxi., 5-15). Their fidelity to Rome was as famous as that of the Vascones to Sertorius; but their fate was more disastrous; as Hannibal took Saguntus and razed it to the ground, after they had endured the most horrible extremities, whereas the siege of Calagurris was raised. Cf. ad v., 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Taurica.* The Tauri, who lived in the peninsula called from them Taurica Chersonesus (now Crimea), on the Palus Mæotis, used to sacrifice shipwrecked strangers on the altar of Diana; of which barbarous custom Thoas their king is said to have been the inventor. Ov., Trist., IV., iv., 93; Ib., 386, "Thoantæ Taurica sacra Deæ." Pont., I., ii., 80: III., ii., 59. Plin., H. N., IV., xii., 26. On this story

impious rite (if you hold as worthy of credit all that poets sing) only sacrifices men ; the victim has nothing further or worse to fear than the sacrificial knife. But what calamity was it drove *these* to crime ? What extremity of hunger, or hostile arms that bristled round their ramparts, that forced these to dare a prodigy of guilt so execrable ? What greater enormity<sup>1</sup> than this could they commit, when the land of Memphis was parched with drought to provoke the wrath<sup>2</sup> of Nile when unwilling to rise ?

Neither the formidable Cimbri, nor Britons, nor fierce Sarmatians or savage Agathyrsi, ever raged with such frantic brutality, as did this weak and worthless rabble, that wont to spread their puny sails in pinnaces of earthenware,<sup>3</sup>

is founded the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides, and from this was derived the custom of scourging boys at the altar of Artemis Orthias in Sparta.

<sup>1</sup> *Gravius cultro.*

"There the pale victim only fears the knife,

But thy fell zeal asks something more than life." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Invidiam facerent.* Cf. Ov., Art. Am., i., 647, "Dicitur Ægyptos caruisse juvantibus arva Imbribus, atque annos sicca fuisse novem. Cum Thracius Busirin adit, monstratque piari Hospitis effuso sanguine posse Jovem. Illi Busiris, Fies Jovis hostia primus, Inquit et Ægypto tu dabis hospes opem." It is to this story Juvenal probably alludes. But *invidiam facere* means also "to bring into odium and unpopularity" (cf. Ov., Met., iv., 547), and so Gifford understands it. "What more effectual means could these cannibals devise to incense the god and provoke him to withhold his fertilizing waters, thereby bringing him into unpopularity," Cf. Lucan, ii., 36, "Nullis deficit aris Invidiam factura parens," with the note of Cortius.

<sup>3</sup> *Fictilibus phaselis.* Evidently taken from Virg., Georg., iv., 287, "Nam quâ Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum Et circum *pictis* vehitur sua rura *phaselis*." The deficiency of timber in Egypt forced the inhabitants to adopt any expedient as a substitute. Strabo (lib. xvii.) mentions these vessels of pottery-ware, varnished over to make them water-tight. Phaselus is properly the long Egyptian kidney bean, from which the boats derived their name, from their long and narrow form. From their speed they were much used by pirates, and seem to have been of the same build as the Myoparonēs mentioned by Cicero in Verrem, ii., 3. Cf. Catull., iv., 1, "Phaselus ille quem videtis hospites Ait fuisse navium celerrimus." Mart., x., Ep. xxx., 12, "Viva sed quies Ponti Pictam phaselon adjuvante fert aurâ." Cf. Lucan, v., 518. Hor., iii., Od. ii., 29. Virg., Georg., i., 277. Arist., Pax, 1144.

"Or through the tranquil water's easy swell,

Work the short paddles of their painted shell." Hodgson.



and ply the scanty paddles of their painted pottery-canoe. You could not invent a punishment adequate to the guilt, or a torture bad enough for a people in whose breasts "anger" and "hunger" are convertible terms.

Nature confesses that she has bestowed on the human race hearts of softest mould, in that she has given us tears.<sup>1</sup> Of all our feeling this is the noblest part. She bids us therefore bewail the misfortunes of a friend in distress, and the squalid appearance of one accused, or an orphan<sup>2</sup> summoning to justice the guardian who has defrauded him. Whose girl-like hair throws doubt<sup>3</sup> upon the sex of those cheeks bedewed with tears !

It is at nature's dictate that we mourn when we meet the funeral of a virgin of marriageable years, or see an infant<sup>4</sup> laid in the ground, too young for the funeral pyre. For what good man, who that is worthy of the mystic torch,<sup>5</sup> such an one as Ceres' priest would have him be, ever deems the ills of others<sup>6</sup> matter that concerns not himself?

This it is that distinguishes us from the brute herd. And

<sup>1</sup> *Lacrymas*. So the Greek proverb, ἄγαθοὶ δ' ἀπιδάκρυες ἄνδρες.

<sup>2</sup> *Pupillum*. Cf. i., 45, "Quum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator Pupilli prostantis," x., 222, "Quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus pupillos."

<sup>3</sup> *Incerta*. Hor., ii., Od. v., "Quem si puellarum insereres choro Miré sagaces falleret hospites Discrimen obscurum solutis Crinibus ambiguoque vultu."

"So soft his tresses, filled with trickling pearl,  
You'd doubt his sex, and take him for a girl." Dryden.

<sup>4</sup> *Minor igne rogi*. Infants under forty days old were not burned, but buried; and the place was called "Suggrundarium." Vid. Facc. in voc. Cf. Plin., H. N., vii., 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Arcana*. Hor., iii., Od. ii., 26, "Vetabo qui Cereris sacrum vulgârit arcanæ, sub isdem sit trabibus fragilemve mecum solvat phaselon." Cf. Sat. vi., 50, "Paucæ adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignæ." None were admitted to initiation in the greater mysteries without a strict inquiry into their moral character; as none but the chastest matrons were allowed to be priestesses of Ceres. For the origin of the use of the torch in the sacred processions of Ceres, see Ovid, Fast., iv., 493, seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Aliena*. From Ter., Heaut., I., i., 25, "Homo sum; humani nihil à me alienum puto." Cf. Cic., Off., i., 9.



therefore we alone, endued with that venerable distinction of reason<sup>1</sup> and a capacity for divine things, with an aptitude for the practice as well as the reception of all arts and sciences, have received, transmitted to us from heaven's high citadel,<sup>2</sup> a moral sense, which brutes prone<sup>3</sup> and stooping toward earth, are lacking in. In the beginning of the world, the common Creator of all vouchsafed to them only the principle of vitality; to us he gave souls<sup>4</sup> also, that an instinct of affection reciprocally shared, might urge us to seek for, and to give, assistance; to unite in one people, those before widely-scattered;<sup>5</sup> to emerge from the ancient wood, and abandon the forests<sup>6</sup> where our fathers dwelt; to build houses, to join another's dwelling to our own homes, that the confidence mutually engendered by a neighbor's thresh-

<sup>1</sup> *Sortiti ingenium*. Cf. Cic., Nat. Deor., ii., 56, "Sunt enim homines non ut incolæ atque habitatores, sed quasi spectatores superarum rerum atque cœlestium, quarum spectaculum ad nullum aliud genus animantium pertinet."

<sup>2</sup> *Cœlesti*. Virg., Æn., vi., 730, "Igneus est ollis vigor et cœlestis origo." Hor., ii., Sat., ii., 79, "Divinæ particulam auræ."

<sup>3</sup> *Prona*. Ov., Met., i., 84, "Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram, Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri jussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus." Sall., Bell. Cat., init., "Omnes homines qui sese student præstare cæteris animalibus quæ Natura prona et ventri obedientia finxit."

<sup>4</sup> *Animam*. i., 83. Cf. ad vi., 531.

"To brutes our Maker, when the globe was new,

Lent only life: to men, a spirit too.

That mutual kindness in our hearts might burn,

The good which others did us, to return:

That scattered thousands might together come,

Leave their old woods, and seek a general home." Hodgson.

<sup>5</sup> *Dispersos*. Cic., Tusc. Qu., v., 2, "Tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitæ convocasti; tu eos inter se primo domiciliis, deinde conjugii, tum literarum et vocum communione junxisti." Hor., i., Sat. iii., 104, "Dehinc absistere bello: oppida cœperunt munire et ponere leges." Ar. Poet., 391, "Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit Orpheus."

<sup>6</sup> *Sylvas*. Ov., Met., i., 121, "Tum primum subiere domos. Domus antra fuerunt, et densi frutices, et vinctæ cortice virgæ." Lucr., v., 953, "Sed nemora atque cavos montes sylvasque colebant, Et frutices inter condebant squalida membra."

old might add security<sup>1</sup> to our slumbers; to cover with our arms a fellow-citizen<sup>2</sup> when fallen or staggering from a ghastly wound; to sound the battle-signal from a common clarion; to be defended by the same ramparts, and closed in by the key of a common portal.

But now the unanimity<sup>3</sup> of serpents is greater than ours. The wild beast of similar genus spares his kindred<sup>4</sup> spots. When did ever lion, though stronger, deprive his fellow-lion of life? In what wood did ever boar perish by the tusks of a boar<sup>5</sup> larger than himself? The tigress of India<sup>6</sup> maintains unbroken harmony with each tigress that ravens. Bears, savage to others, are yet at peace among themselves. But for man!<sup>7</sup> he is not content with forging on the ruthless anvil the death-dealing steel! While his progenitors, those primæval smiths, that wont to hammer out naught save rakes and hoes, and wearied out with mattocks and plow-

<sup>1</sup> *Collata fiducia.*

"Thus more securely through the night to rest,  
And add new courage to our neighbor's breast." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Civem.* Hence the proud inscription on the civic crown, OB. CIVES. SERVATOS.

<sup>3</sup> *Concordia.* Plin., H. N., vii., in., "Cætera animantia in suo genere probè degunt; congregari videmus, et stare contra dissimilia: Leonum feritas inter se non dimicat: serpentum morsus non petit serpentes; nec maris quidem belluæ nisi in diversa genera sæviunt. At Hercule, homini plurima ex homine sunt mala." Hor., Epod., vii., 11, "Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus, nunquam nisi in dispar feris." "Homo homini lupus." Prov. Rom.

<sup>4</sup> *Cognatis.* "His kindred spots the very pard will spare." Badham.

<sup>5</sup> *Dentibus apri.* "Nor from his larger tusks the forest boar

Commission takes his brother swine to gore." Dryd.

<sup>6</sup> *Indica tigris.* Plin., H. N., viii., 18, "Tigris Indica fera velocitatis tremendæ est, quæ vacuum reperiens cubile fertur præceps odore vestigans," *et seq.*

"In league of Friendship tigers roam the plain,  
And bears with bears perpetual peace maintain." Gifford.

<sup>7</sup> *Ast homini.*

"But man, fell man, is not content to make  
The deadly sword for murder's impious sake,  
Though ancient smiths knew only to produce  
Spades, rakes, and mattocks for the rustic's use;  
And guiltless anvils in those ancient times  
Were not subservient to the soldier's crimes." Hodgson.

shares, knew not the art of manufacturing swords.<sup>1</sup> Here we behold a people whose brutal passion is not glutted with simple murder, but deem<sup>2</sup> their fellows' breasts and arms and faces a kind of natural food.

What then would Pythagoras<sup>3</sup> exclaim ; whither would he not flee, could he be witness in our days to such atrocities as these ! He that abstained from all that was endued with life as from man himself ; and did not even indulge his appetite with every kind of pulse.

<sup>1</sup> *Gladios.* Virg., Georg., ii., 538.

"Aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat.  
Necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum  
Impositos duris crepitare incudibus enses."

<sup>2</sup> "Ev'n this is trifling. We have seen a rage  
Too fierce for murder only to assuage ;  
Seen a whole state their victim piecemeal tear,  
And count each quivering limb delicious fare!" Gifford.

<sup>3</sup> *Pythagoras.* iii., 228, "Culti villicus horti unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis." Holding the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, Pythagoras was averse to shedding the blood of any animal. Various reasons are assigned for his abstaining from beans ; from their shape—from their turning to blood if exposed to moonshine, etc. Diog. Laert. says (lib. viii. cap i), τῶν δὲ κνάμων ἀπηγόρευεν ἔχεσθαι διὰ τὸ πνευματώδεις ὄντας μᾶλλον μετέχειν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ—καὶ τὰς καθύπνου φαντασίας λείας καὶ ἀταράχους ἀποτελεῖν. In which view Cicero seems to concur: De Div., ii., 119, "Pythagoras et Plato, quo in somnis certiora videamus, præparatos quodam cultu atque victu proficisci ad dormiendum jubent: Faba quidem Pythagorei utique abstinuere, quasi vero eo cibo mens non venter infletur." Cf. Ov., Met., xv., 60, seq. See Browne's Vulgar Errors, book i., chap. iv. (Bohn's Antiquarian Library): "When (Pythagoras) enjoined his disciples an absence from beans, . . . he had no other intention than to dissuade men from magistracy, or undertaking the public offices of the state ; for by beans was the magistrate elected in some parts of Greece ; and after his days, we read in Thucydides of the Council of the Bean in Athens. It hath been thought by some an injunction only of continency."

## SATIRE XVI.

## ARGUMENT.

UNDER a pretense of pointing out to his friend Gallus the advantages of a military life, Juvenal attacks with considerable spirit the exclusive privileges which the army had acquired or usurped, to the manifest injury of the civil part of the community.

Who could possibly enumerate, Gallus,<sup>1</sup> all the advantages that attend military service when fortunate? For if I could but enter the camp with lucky omen, then may its gate welcome me, a timid and raw recruit, under the influence of some auspicious planet. For one hour of benignant Fate is of more avail than even if Venus'<sup>2</sup> self should give me a letter of recommendation to Mars, or his mother Juno, that delights in Samos' sandy shore.<sup>3</sup>

Let us treat, in the first place, of advantages in which all share; of which not the least important is this, that no civilian<sup>4</sup> must dare to strike you. Nay, even though he be himself the party beaten,<sup>5</sup> he must dissemble his wrath, and

<sup>1</sup> *Gallus*. Of this friend of Juvenal, as of Volusius in the last Satire, nothing is known. He is perhaps the same person whose name occurs so frequently in Martial.

<sup>2</sup> *Veneris*. For her influence over Mars, vid. Lucret., i., 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Samia arenâ*. Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, i., 15, "Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam Posthabitâ coluisse Samo." Herod., ii., 148; iii., 60. Paus., VII., iv., 4. Athen., xiv., 655; xv., 672. The famous temple of Juno was said to have been built by the Leleges, the first inhabitants of the island: her statue, which was of wood, was the workmanship of Smilis, a contemporary of Dædalus. Juno is said to have here given birth to Mars, alone. Ov., *Fast.*, v., 229. Samos was the native country of the peacock, hence sacred to Juno. Cf. vii., 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Togatus*. The toga, the robe of peace, as the Sagum is that of war. (So 33, "paganum.") Cf. Juv., viii., 240; x., 8, "Nocitura toga nocitura petuntur Militia." So "Cedant arma togæ."

<sup>5</sup> *Pulsetur*. Cf. iii., 300.

not dare to show the prætor<sup>1</sup> the teeth he has had knocked out, and the black bruises on his face with its livid swellings, and all that is left of his eye, which the physician can give him no hopes of saving. If he wish to get redress for this, a Bardiac<sup>2</sup> judge is assigned him—the soldier's boot, and stalwart calves that throng the capacious benches of the camp, the old martial law and the precedent of Camillus<sup>3</sup> being strictly observed, "that no soldier shall be sued outside the trenches, or at a distance from the standards."

Of course, where a *soldier* is concerned, the decision of the centurion will needs be most equitable; <sup>4</sup> nor shall I lack my just revenge, provided only the ground of the complaint I lay be just and fair.

Yet the whole cohort is your sworn enemy; and all the maniples, with wonderful unanimity, obstruct the course of justice. Full well will they take care that the redress you get shall be more grievous than the injury itself. It will be an act, therefore, worthy of even the long-tongued Vagel-

<sup>1</sup> *Prætori*. "Tremble before the Prætor's seat to show,  
His livid features, swoll'n with many a blow:  
His eyes closed up, no sight remaining there,  
Left by the honest doctor in despair." Hodgson.

<sup>2</sup> *Bardiacus*. On the sense of this passage all the commentators are agreed, though they arrive at it by different routes—"Your judge will be some coarse, brutal, uncivilized soldier; who cares nothing for the feelings of the toga'd citizen, or for the principles of justice." Marius is said to have had a body-guard of slaves, who flocked to him, chiefly Illyrian; whom he called his "*Bardiæi*." Pliny calls them "*Vardæi*," and Strabo *ἀρδίαιοι*. (Cf. Plut., in vit. Mar. Plin., iii., 32. Strabo, vii., 5.) Bardiacus (or Bardaicus) may therefore be taken absolutely, or with *judex*, or with *calceus*. If taken alone, then *cucullus* is said to be understood, as Mart., xiv., 128, "*Gallia Santonico vestit te Bardocucullo*." i., Ep. liv., 5; xiv., 139; IV., iv., 5. This "cowl" was made of goats' hair. If taken with *calceus*, it would imply some such kind of shoe as the "*Udo*" in Ep. xiv., 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Camillo*. This law was passed by Camillus, while dictator, during the siege of Veii; to prevent his soldiers absenting themselves from the camp, on the plea of civil business. It led, of course, in time to the grossest abuses.

<sup>4</sup> *Justissima*.

"Oh! righteous court, where generals preside,  
And regimental rogues are justly tried!" Hodgson.

lius' mulish heart,<sup>1</sup> while you have still a pair of legs to provoke the ire of so many buskins, so many thousand hobnails!<sup>2</sup> For who can go so far from Rome? Besides, who will be such a Pylades<sup>3</sup> as to venture beyond the rampart of the camp? So let us dry up our tears forthwith, and not trouble our friends, who will be sure to excuse themselves. When the judge calls on you, "Produce your witness,"<sup>4</sup> let the man, whoever he may be, that saw the cuffs, have the courage to stand forth and say, "I saw<sup>5</sup> the act," and I will hold him worthy of the beard,<sup>6</sup> and worthy of the long hair of our ancestors. You could with greater ease suborn a *false* witness against a civilian,<sup>7</sup> than one who would speak the

<sup>1</sup> *Mulino*. Perhaps Stapylton's is the best translation of this epithet of the declaimer in a hopeless cause. He calls him "a desperate ass." Others read "Mutinensi."

<sup>2</sup> *Caligas*. iii., 247, "Plantâ mox undique magnâ calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis hæret" (and 322, "Adjutor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros"). This was one of the *tender* recollections Umbritius had when leaving Rome. The caliga, being a thick sole with no upper leather, bound to the foot with thongs, and studded underneath with iron nails, would be a fearful thing to encounter on one's shins or toes. (Justin says, "Antiochus' soldiers were shod with gold; treading that under foot for which men fight with iron.")

<sup>3</sup> *Pylades*.

"And where's the Pylades, the faithful friend,

That shall thy journey to the camp attend?

Be wise in time! See those tremendous shoes!

Nor ask a service which e'en fools refuse." Badham.

<sup>4</sup> *Da testem*. Cf. iii., 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Vidi*. Cf. vii., 13, "Quam si dicas sub iudice Vidi, quod non vidisti."

<sup>6</sup> *Barbâ*. Cf. ad iv., 103. Barbers were introduced from Sicily to Rome by P. Ticinius Mæna, A.U.C. 454. Scipio Africanus is said to have been the first Roman who shaved daily. Cf. Plin., vii., 95. Hor., i., Od., xii., 41, "Incomptis Curium capillis." ii., Od. xv., 11, "Intonsi Catonis." Tib., II., i., 34, "Intonsis avis."

<sup>7</sup> *Paganum*. Cf. ad l. 8. It appears that under the emperors husbandmen were exempt from military service in order that the land might not fall out of cultivation. The "paganus," therefore, is opposed to the "armatus" here, and by Pliny, Epist. x., 18, "Et milites et pagani." Epist. vii., 25, "Ut in castris, sic etiam in literis nostris (sunt), plures culto pagano quos cinetos et armatos, diligentius scrutatus invenies." Pagus is derived from the Doric *παγᾶ*, because villages were originally formed round springs of water. Cf. Hooker's Eccl. Pol., lib. v., c. 80.



truth against the fortune and the dignity of the man-at-arms.

Now let us observe other prizes and other solid advantages of the military life. If some rascally neighbor has defrauded me of a portion of the valley of my paternal fields, or encroached on my land, and removed the consecrated stone from the boundary that separates our estates, that stone which my pulse has yearly<sup>1</sup> honored with the meal-cake derived from ancient days, or if my debtor persists in refusing repayment of the sum I lent him, asserting that the deed is invalid and the signature a forgery : I shall have to wait a whole year occupied with the causes of the whole nation, before my case comes on. But even then I must put up with a thousand tedious delays, a thousand difficulties. So many times the benches only are prepared ; then, when the eloquent Cæditius<sup>2</sup> is laying aside his cloak, and Fuscus

“ With much more ease false witnesses you’ll find  
To swear away the life of some poor hind,  
Than get the true ones all they know to own  
Against a soldier’s fortune and renown.” Hodgson.

<sup>1</sup> *Puls annua*. Cf. Dionys. Hal., ii., 9, θεοὺς τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τέρμονας, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἔτι τῶν μὲν ἐμψύχων οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον αἰμάττειν τοὺς λίθους· πελάνονς δὲ Δήμητρος, καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς καρπῶν ἀπαρχάς. “For they hold the boundary stones to be gods ; and sacrifice to them nothing that has life, because it would be impious to stain the stones with blood ; but they offer wheaten cakes, and other first-fruits of their crops.” The divisions of land were maintained by investing the stones which served as landmarks with a religious character : the removal of these, therefore, added the crime of sacrilege to that of dishonesty, and brought down on the heathen the curse invoked in the purer system of theology, “Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor’s landmark.” Deut., xxvii., 17. To these rude stones, afterward sculptured (like the Hermæ) into the form of the god Terminus above, the rustics went in solemn procession annually, and offered the produce of the soil : flowers and fruits, and the never-failing wine, and “mola salsa.” Numa is said by Plutarch to have introduced the custom into Italy, and one of his anathemas is still preserved : “Qui terminum exarasit, ipsus et boves sacrei sunt.” Cf. Blunt’s *Vestiges*, p. 204. Hom., Il., xxi., 405. Virg., *Æn.*, xii., 896

<sup>2</sup> *Cæditio*. xiii., 197, “Poena sævior illis quas et Cæditius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus.” But it is very doubtful whether the same

must retire for a little, though all prepared, we must break up; and battle in the tediously-protracted arena of the court. But in the case of those who wear armor, and buckle on the belt, whatever time suits *them* is fixed for the hearing of their cause, nor is their fortune frittered away by the slow drag-chain<sup>1</sup> of the law.

Besides, it is only to soldiers that the privilege is granted, of making their wills while their fathers are still alive.<sup>2</sup> For it has been determined that all that has been earned by the hard toil of military service should not be incorporated with that sum of which the father holds the entire disposal. And so it is, that while Coranus follows the standards and earns his daily pay, his father, though tottering on the edge of the grave, pays court to his son that he may make him his heir.

His duties regularly discharged procure the soldier advancement; and yield to every honest exertion<sup>3</sup> its justly person is intended here, as also whether Fuscus is the same whose wife's drinking propensities are hinted at, xii., 45, "*dignum sitiente Pholo, vel conjuge Fusci.*" (Pliny has an Epistle to Corn. Fuscus, vii., 9.) He is probably the Aurelius Fuscus to whom Martial wrote, vii., Ep. 28.

<sup>1</sup> *Sufflamine*. "Nor are their wealth and patience worn away

By the slow drag-chain of the law's delay." Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> *Testandi vivo patre*. Under ordinary circumstances the power of a father over his son was absolute, extending even to life and death, and terminating only at the decease of one of the parties. Hence "*peculium*" is put for the sum of money that a father allows a son, or a master a slave, to have at his own disposal. But even this permission was revocable. A soldier, who was *sui juris*, was allowed to name an heir in the presence of three or four witnesses, and if he fell, this "*nuda voluntas testatoris*" was valid. This privilege was extended by Julius Cæsar to those who were "*in potestate patris.*" "*Liberam testandi factionem concessit, D. Julius Cæsar: sed ea concessio temporalis erat: postea vero D. Titus dedit: post hoc Domitianus: postea Divis Nerva plenissimam indulgentiam in milites contulit: eamque et Trajanus secutus est.*" "Julius Cæsar granted them the free power of making a will; but this was only a temporary privilege. It was renewed by Titus and Domitian. Nerva afterward bestowed on them full powers, which were continued to them by Trajan." Vid. Ulpian, 23, § 10. The old Schol., however, says this privilege was confined to the "*peculium Castrense*;" but he is probably mistaken.

<sup>3</sup> *Labor*. Ruperti suggests "*favor*," to avoid the harshness of the phrase "*labor reddit sua dona labori.*" Browne reads *reddi*.

merited guerdon.<sup>1</sup> For doubtless it appears to be the interest of the general himself, that he that proves himself *brave* should also be most distinguished for good fortune, that all may glory in their trappings,<sup>2</sup> all in their golden chains.

<sup>1</sup> *Dona*. Cf. Sil., xv., 254, "Tum merita æquantur *donis* et præmia Virtus sanguine parta capit : Phaleris hic pectora fulget : Hic torque aurato circumdat bellica colla."

<sup>2</sup> *Phaleris*. Cf. ad xi., 103, "Ut phaleris gauderet equus." Siccus Dentatus is said to have had 25 phaleræ, 83 torques, 18 hastæ puræ, 160 bracelets, 14 civic, 8 golden, 3 mural, and 1 obsidional crown. Plin., VII., xxviii., 9 ; xxxiii., 2.

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Here the satire terminates abruptly. The conclusion is too tame to be such as Juvenal would have left it, even were the whole subject thoroughly worked up. It is probably an unfinished draught. The commentators are nearly equally balanced as to its being the work of Juvenal or not ; but one or two of the touches are too masterly to be by any other hand.